FBIS DAILY REPORT
CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

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CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

CSCE Awaits NATO Decision on Draft Document [PAP] BB 1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO Cites NOVOYE VREMYA Poland Item [6 May] D 1
U.S. Catholic Bishops Want Nuclear Policy Change D 1
RUDE PRAVO Article [Rovensky, 5 May] D 1
A. Kostka Remarks D 2
Hu Yaobang's Departure for Romania, SFRY Reported [RUDE PRAVO 5 May] D 3
Strougal Congratulates Finnish Prime Minister D 3

HUNGARY

National Bank Director on Savings, Bonds [NEPSZABADSAG 4 May] F 1
Marjai Returns From Talks in Bulgaria F 2
Briefs: Gaspar, Hoffmann in Geneva F 2

POLAND

ANSA: Poland Confiscates Critical USSR Weekly G 1
First PRON Congress Meets 7-9 May in Warsaw G 1
Delegates Meet Government Representatives G 1
Congress Opens G 1
Dobraczynski Opening Speech G 2
Kostrzewski Speech G 5
Jaruzelski Speech G 11
Report on 7 May Session G 22
National Council Elected G 23
National Council Ends Deliberations G 23
Materials on 28 Apr Sejm Session, 1983-1985 Plan G 24
Kaminski Presents 1983-1985 Plan [TRYBUNA LUDU 29 Apr] G 24
Jablonski Addresses Sejm [RZECZPOSPOLITA 29 Apr] G 31
Jablonski on Draft Economic Plan [GLOS ROBOTNICZY 13 Apr] G 36
Press Reports Urban, Lopatka Press Conference [RZECZPOSPOLITA 4 May] G 40
Madej Interviewed on Trade Relations, Debts [RZECZPOSPOLITA 3 May] G 43
Messner Views Self-Management Structures [SZTANDAR LUDU 15 Apr] G 45
Jaruzelski Lays Wreath at Victory Day Ceremony G 47

Committee Thanks Citizens for May Day Events G 48
5,000 Attend Funeral of May Day Victim [AFP] G 48
Glemp Speaks in Krakow on 'Creative Peace' G 49
Four Solidarity Advisers Released 8 May [AFP] G 49
Briefs: New Weekly Published G 50

ROMANIA

Materials on Visit of PRC's Hu Yaobang H 1
Further on Ceausescu Talks 6 May H 1
Dascalescu Talks, Luncheon 6 May H 3
Further on Dascalescu Talks H 3
Departure for Galati, Constanta H 4
Galati Plant, Constanta Arrival H 4
Trip to Agigea Sluice H 5
Tour of Agricultural Units, Sea Resorts H 5
Constanta RCP Committee Dinner H 6
Ceausescu Meeting in Neptun Resort H 6
Ceausescu Talks 8 May H 6
Return to Bucharest From Neptun H 7
Arrival in Brasov 9 May H 7
Activities in Brasov H 8
Report on Talks [Belgrade] H 9
Travel Notes From PRC Cite Progress, Ties H 9
[SCINTEIA 3, 4 May]

YUGOSLAVIA

Reagan CSCE Message to Stambolic Reported I 1
Press Reviews NOVOYE VREMYA Attack on POLITYKA I 1
Sundic Comments on Upcoming Visit of Hu Yaobang I 2
Aggravated Soviet-Iranian Relations Discussed [B. Savic] I 3
Planinc Addresses Journalists on Economy I 4
Kosovo's Siroka Interview on Current Situation I 5
[BORBA 4 May]
Papers Note May Day Provocations in Istok I 7
Kosovo Students Expelled for Boycott Attempt I 8
Recovery of Kosovo Economic Losses Viewed I 8
[Antic in BORBA 28 Apr]

CSCE AWAITS NATO DECISION ON DRAFT DOCUMENT

LD062154 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 6 May 83

["Successful Ending of CSCE Meeting Depends on West" -- PAP headline; by Andrzej Rayzacher]

[Text] Warsaw 6 May -- Poland, the USSR, and Romania declared today that they are ready to approve the draft final document of the CSCE Madrid meeting submitted by a group of neutral and non-aligned [N plus N] countries on March 15. It can be assumed then that 7 socialist and 9 neutral and non-aligned countries attending the meeting approve this document in the form in which it was proposed.

Now, everybody's attention is directed to 16 countries of the North Atlantic bloc. As Poland's delegate stated at a plenary session of the Madrid meeting today, Poland would be also willing to introduce her corrections to the N plus N document. However, in the name of a successful ending of the meeting with adoption of a balanced and significant final document, Poland resigns their introduction.

The N plus N document is neither Polish nor Soviet nor Swedish, nor American nor West German. It is the result of compromise efforts of its authors who attempted in their consultations held for many weeks to establish a common denominator for views of all the 35 states taking part in the meeting. Thus it includes what is really possible under present conditions of international relations on our continent.

RUDE PRAVO CITES NOVOYE VREMYA POLAND ITEM

AU091135 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 May 83 p 7

[CTK Moscow dispatch: "The NOVOYE VREMYA Magazine -- On the Ideological Battle of Poland"]

[Text] Moscow (CTK) -- On 6 May the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA carries an article on the events in Poland and recapitulates the developments in the country since the establishment of the state of emergency in December 1981. It points out the PZPR;s significance in the effort to stabilize the situation in the country.

The weekly states that one cannot speak as yet of a definite defeat of the counter-revolution and it draws attention to the aggravated ideological battle. NOVOYE VREMYA criticizes articles recently published in the Polish weekly, POLITYKA, which cast doubt on the role of Marxism-Leninism in the analysis of social development in Poland. POLITYKA has attributed noble intentions and good will to the so-called SOLIDARITY.

POLITYKA considers it normal, the Soviet weekly states, to propagate opinions which are alien to the proletarian and communist ideology. Many of its articles call upon the party to become reborn, or to renounce the leading role in society. For long periods this Polish weekly served its readers a peculiar mixture of scientific socialism and pseudo-scientific, even frankly antisocialist concepts, NOVOYE VREMYA underscores.

U.S. CATHOLIC BISHOPS WANT NUCLEAR POLICY CHANGE

RUDE PRAVO Article

AU061452 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 May 83 p 7

[Article by Dusan Rovensky, RUDE PRAVO Washington correspondent, in column "A Note": "Under the Pressure of the Public"]

[Text] The conference of American bishops and archbishops, which ended in Chicago on Tuesday, rejected the policy of the Reagan government, which increases the danger of nuclear conflict, nuclear arms buildup, and the strategic concept of the so-called first nuclear strike, a concept to which the Pentagon adheres and which predominates in the military-political doctrines of the Republican administration. The conference, which was attended by 275 Roman Catholic bishops and archbishops from all over the United States, adopted in its final document -- the so-called pastoral letter -- a position which is to a considerable degree close to the positions of the movement for freezing the nuclear arms buildup.

The Reagan government exerted considerable pressure on the conference to change its position, even after the conference last year arrived at conclusions similar to those of this year. It is known that similar pressure was exerted by the Vatican, whose policy -- particularly vis-a-vis the socialist countries -- actually plays into the hands of Reagan's policy. The conference did not change its position, however. In addition, those church dignitaries, who were also trying at the current Chicago conference -- particularly by putting forward a great number of amendments -- to water down the final standpoints in the so-called pastoral letter, did not assert themselves to any great degree.

In the United States there are some 50 million members of the Catholic Church.

That means that this is the largest American church. The adopted 155-page document formulates its position on the issue of nuclear war and a nuclear arms buildup.

However, the weak spot which will necessarily weaken the share of the church members in the antinuclear arms buildup movement is that the Chicago conference depicted the issues of nuclear weapons as a so-called moral problem, although what in fact is involved is a fundamental issue concerning the existence of mankind. In the document there are several such half-baked things and obvious compromises.

Why did the American church dignitaries, members of the highest church hierarchy, adopt a document like that? After all, it is known that the Catholic Church has never opposed Reagan's anti-popular policy. One should look for the answer above all in the pressure exerted on the church hierarchy by normal Americans, Christians, who are seriously disquieted by Reagan's belligerent policy and are justifiably concerned that it draws the country close to war. It was this pressure which forced the conference in Chicago to adopt the conclusions it did. At the same time, however, the conference did nothing to transform the opposition to war, which manifests itself among the people, into a serious movement. The only thing the conference did was to issue a so-called moral condemnation which is not enough at present.

A. Kostka Remarks

LD081958 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] The church and peace -- this is the theme of the following note by editor Antonin Kostka:

The past week, no doubt, will occupy a very special place in the history of the Catholic Church. An unprecedented event took place: The bishops of the 50-million strong Roman Catholic Church in the United States stressed by their action the priority of their civil and humane duties and, despite pressure from the government of their country and the Vatican, as well as their highest priest, the pope, they adopted, after 2 years of preparation, an extensive document unequivocally condemning nuclear war and its preparation as the ultimate crime. The document resolutely demands the government change its present militarist course, freeze nuclear armaments, and halt production of nuclear arms.

This action by the U.S. bishops means much more than just what it proclaims and contains. It represents, above all, a de facto rejection of the present hypocritical and even false Vatican conception of noninterference in the political affairs of the world, which allows the Vatican to be silent about the murder of a Catholic bishop on the steps of San Salvador Cathedral because Washington's protectors of murderers are in the background, but which does not preclude it from referring to the struggle for peace as political activity unfit for the Lord's servants. This conception governs the pope's advice to Latin American priests and believers to be humble and reserved in the matters of social and national liberation struggle, but, on the other hand, fails to admit his interference in the internal affairs of Poland and tolerates the fact that a number of monasteries and churches in Poland have changed into a material base for illegal, antisocialist forces.

The overwhelming majority of the U.S. bishops, it appears, have managed to rise above the narrow-minded, time-serving interests of closed church circles, above the demagogy and hypocrisy of their pretentious apolitical attitude. For what is involved is the salvation of life, of human civilization. The position of the U.S. Catholic bishops, however, is a characteristic phenomenon of the times for another set of reasons:

It witnesses the profound conceptual upheaval in the Catholic world which, for the time being, is manifested in various standpoints in different countries. Whereas, for example, the Austrian bishops univocally joined in the standpoint of the U.S. bishops as early as at the time when the final formulations of the present document were still being discussed, West German bishops issued a lengthy statement at the end of April which, while demanding a policy of supporting and securing peace, also contains numerous exceptions about the possibility of some sort of temporary tolerance of the policy of nuclear deterrents of an allegedly necessary military contribution whose aim is preservation of peace, and so forth. The evasive stand of the West German bishops is, against the background of the clear-cut antinuclear stand of the U.S. and Austrian bishops, a true reflection of the backward steps made in the issue of peace by the Vatican, headed by the present pope, and in contrast to the previous standpoint of the church. The 1963 encyclical of Pope John XXIII, Pacem in Terris, clearly demanded a ban on nuclear weapons, arms limitation, and effective steps toward disarmament. The current standpoints of the Vatican are far from being so unequivocal. The pope's present peace standpoints are much less concrete, being more general and evasive. Peace, it appears, is a mere instrument of politics, to be used in following narrowly defined aims.

However, it would be an exaggeration to see in the differing attitudes of the bishops of various countries a manifestation of some sort of internal crisis in the Catholic Church, or even a rebellion, yet it signals a pressing demand to coordinate the policy of the Catholic Church with the needs of the times, with the views and desires of believers.

HU YAOBANG'S DEPARTURE FOR ROMANIA, SFRY REPORTED

AU061057 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 May 83 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Hu Yaobang, CPC secretary general, left Beijing on Wednesday for an official visit to Romania. Thereafter he will also visit Yugoslavia.

STROUGAL CONGRATULATES FINNISH PRIME MINISTER

LD061911 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1800 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal has sent a telegram of congratulations to Finnish Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa on his reappointment. Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek has congratulated Paavo Vayrynen on his appointment as the minister of foreign affairs of the Finnish Republic.

NATIONAL BANK DIRECTOR ON SAVINGS, BONDS

AU050648 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 May 83 p 3

[Article by Dr Jeno Szirmai, director general of the National Savings Bank: "The Saving of Money by the Population"]

[Summary] "The saving of money by the population constitutes an important financial reserve for families and the people's economy. Since recently, enomomic policy experts and economists have been looking for ways to draw the population's unbound financial resources into the country's economic bloodstream and effectively use them to develop the people's economy and improve the population's standard of living." In examining means to put savings to good use, many factors are being taken into consideration.

From 1957 to 1982, the population's per capita real income and consumption increased by approximately 2 and 1/2 times, which has also strengthened trust in the economic policy of the party and the government. Large sums of money have been saved and placed on deposit. "Despite the favorable overall picture, however, it must also be noted that, amid the economic circumstances that have become more difficult in recent years -- where, as of 1979, the increase of consumer prices has become more rapid and the cost of living has considerably risen -- the monetary savings of the population have declined."

There are numerous ways to build monetary reserves, the most advantageous of which is to deposit savings in financial institutions. Among other advantages, such deposits pay a dividend offsetting or even exceeding the extent of the consumer price increases. "With the exception of the last 3 years, that had applied for decades to deposits tied up over a protracted period in our country."

Recently, several measures have been introduced to ensure the stable value of protracted deposits. For instance, we have introduced so-called youth deposits, with respect to which we pay 5 percent interest and a 1-percent bonus after 5 years and an additional 1 percent retroactive bonus after 8 years. The dwelling acquisition savings deposit introduced this year earns 5 percent interest with a 1-percent bonus after 5 years and an additional 1-percent bonus after 10 years. An additional advantage of both of these forms of deposits is the fact that depositors can obtain, for the construction or purchase of dwellings, a 3 percent long-term loan.

In 1977 we initiated a savings certificate scheme, under which we pay an annual interest of 6 percent after 3 years, 7 percent after 5 years, and 8 percent after 7 years. We have increased the interest rate on remittance deposits payable to bearer to an annual 4 percent on the balance of the accounts.

"Under the present practice, a large portion -- over 75 percent -- of the deposits serves as a source of loans to the population, at a considerable rate, at that, at a preferential -- 3 percent -- interest. These loans aid the realization of dwelling construction plans; the development of small-scale commodity production and small ventures and services; the improvement of the quantitative and structural equilibrium of the purchasing power and the commodity supply; and the surmounting of monetary financial difficulties of families.

"The importance of their role is shown by the fact that, from 1957 to 1982, long-term savings deposit loans amounting to 172 billion forints, made available from the population's deposits, enabled people to construct and purchase over 1 million dwellings from their private resources."

In the same period, in more than 25 million instances, loans totaling 187 billion forints were granted for expanding production and making purchases, including 110 billion for household machinery, electronic equipment, furniture and so forth. The portion of the deposits that is not employed for loans to the population is spent on developing the people's economy.

Bonds issued by the state, local councils, enterprises, and financial institutions also can be bought by the population. I intend to deal here only with those that directly concern the population, of which we have experience with the so-called communal bonds. Bonds of this kind have been experimentally issued by the local councils of 10 settlements to supplement their development funds. They are invested in the infrastructure and social amenities and run for 5 years, with an annual interest rate of 6 percent.

We expect bonds to gain ground more extensively in the future. Their purpose can be national or local. "In our experience, the population subscribes to the bonds issued for local purposes more willingly. Therefore, the spreading of this type of bond is rather to be expected."

Ownership of share certificates has been a condition of membership in industrial and consumers' cooperatives for quite some time. They are nontransferable, and their holders receive a dividend from profits.

Fixed-purpose share certificates also are a type of bond. "They are nontransferable, do not carry any title of ownership, do not furnish an entitlement to a dividend, and the quantity that can be possessed by one person is limited." They are usually issued by consumers' cooperatives to their members for development purposes.

"Concerning clear-cut investment objectives, I feel that the development of fixed-purpose share certificates into so-called incentive [erdekeltseqi] bonds should be considered. Incentive bonds would be securities of an established value after which their owners would receive a basic interest and a share of profit proportionate to the assumed risk." They could be issued by state enterprises, cooperatives, and small-scale ventures.

Generally, any form of saving should be supported that effectively encourages the population to save money, that is readily accepted by the population, and that promotes the realization of important economic and sociopolitical objectives.

MARJAI RETURNS FROM TALKS IN BULGARIA

LD061147 Budapest MTI in English 1028 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Budapest, May 5 (MTI) -- Hungarian Deputy Premier Jozef Marjai, co-chairman of the Hungarian-Bulgarian Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation Committee, who attended the 18th session of the committee in Sofia, returned to Budapest Thursday night.

BRIEFS

GASPAR, HOFFMANN IN GENEVA -- Geneva, May 6 (MTI) -- Sandor Gaspar, general secretary of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, and Karel Hoffmann, president of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, visited the International Labour Office. [as received] On behalf of the trade union centres of the socialist member countries of ILO the two officials held talks with Francis Blanchard, director-general of the ILO, on trade unions issues concerning the international labour conference to open on June 1. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1939 GMT 6 May 83 LD]

ANSA: POLAND CONFISCATES CRITICAL USSR WEEKLY

AU071527 Rome ANSA in English 1520 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] (ANSA) -- Warsaw, May 7 -- Polish authorities have confiscated nearly all issues of the latest edition of the Soviet periodical NEW TIMES [NOVOYE VREMYA] which carried an unprecedented attack against POLITYKA, organ of the Polish communist party.

The Soviet article charged that POLITYKA espouses concepts which are "alien to socialist society" and voiced Soviet concern over the Polish situation and the Polish communist party's inability to control the country and its decreasing power.

The proclamation of martial law in December 1981 and the outlawing of the Solidarity trade union were expected to restore the Polish communist party in its leadership role. On the contrary, the role of the military has strengthened considerably.

While the Soviet Union is urging a revitalization of the party, sources in Warsaw predict another military officer will be added to the party's Politburo.

NEW TIMES criticized the policy of POLITYKA when it was edited by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who left the paper in September 1982. Rakowski is now deputy prime minister and one of the closest aides of President and Party Secretary General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Sources in Warsaw insist that the NEW TIMES indirect attack against Rakowski is directed against the entire Jaruzelski group.

One of the heaviest parts of the article is the comparison between several articles in POLITYKA and certain statements made by leading dissident writer Jacek Kuron, one of the founders of the "Self Defense Committee" (KOR). Kuron was arrested in September 1982 on charges of subversion.

FIRST PRON CONGRESS MEETS 7-9 MAY IN WARSAW

Delegates Meet Government Representatives

LD062127 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 6 May -- Delegates to the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth (PRON) and representatives of the government and central institutions met here tonight to discuss detailed social and economic issues in Poland. Issues to be discussed in these groups include law and order, public order, struggle against social ills, the introduction of the economic reform, the state's fiscal policy, home trade and services, prices and pays and social issues. Other groups will debate on science and education, youth, health and social welfare, culture and art, the functioning of the administration and [word indistinct] problems as well as farming and food economy.

Congress Opens

LD071202 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] Warsaw, 7 May -- The 1st Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) started its debates at the Palace of Culture and Science here at 10 a.m. today.

Over 1,900 participants and activists of the PRON from all voivodships, social and professional milieux are taking part. The PRON movement today affiliates nearly half a million citizens.

Members of the PRON Provisional National Council [PNC], which is giving up its mandate once the congress opens, arrived. They include: PUWP CC First Secretary and Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski, Speaker of the Sejm Stanislaw Gucwa. Present are also representatives of the leaderships of the PUWP, the United Peasant [ZSL] and the Democratic [SD] Parties and Christian associations -- signatories of the PRON declaration of July 20, 1982, alongside representatives of over 75 social organizations functioning in the PRON.

Present are also guests of the congress invited by the PRON Provisional National Council. The debates are reported by mass media. Over 200 journalists, all foreign correspondents accredited in Poland, [word indistinct] accredited at the [word indistinct] of the [word indistinct].

The debates started from the national anthem. Chairman of the ruling PRON Provisional National Council Jan Dobraczynski addressed the gathering.

Dobraczynski Opening Speech

LD071237 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0755 GMT 7 May 83

[Speech given by Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON PNC, at the opening session of the first congress of the movement in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] The day has come to open the First PRON Congress. I cordially welcome the participants in the congress present here in the hall.

I welcome representatives of the Sejm of the PPR led by Marshal Stanislaw Gucwa [applause], representatives of the Council of State led by Professor Henryk Jablonski [applause], and representatives of the government led by Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. [applause]

I welcome representatives of the political parties and Catholic associations [applause], representatives of social organizations which have joined our movement [applause], all guests at the congress [applause], and journalists, home and foreign [applause]. Much will depend on your work. Social opinion on our debates will depend on it.

It has been only a short time from the first initiatives of the municipal, factory, and local committees for national salvation, the declaration made by six people on 20 July 1982, and the PRON PNC to the present day. It has been a very short time -- not even 6 months. Over the last 17 months the idea has become reality. Those have not been easy months. We must frankly say that the movement met with distrust and passive opposition at the beginning, not to mention open hostility from those for whom the word accord has become the proverbial red rag to a bull.

People gave in to pressure and some broke away from PRON. Those that remained stood firm with clenched teeth, stubbornly repeating that the most genuine causes are seldom popular. From the first moment it is and must be open to all for whom the homeland is dear and who are ready to undertake any effort and to sacrifice everything to help it in times of danger.

We are the horrible danger not only for our country but simply for the entire world. Despite this, our opponents are only those, as General Jaruzelski said, who wish to be our opponents.

For the Catholics, of whom there are so many in our country, the words of the primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, spoken on 24 January 1982 have become a guide. I quote: We must lift ourselves out of decline but we must be united. The unity can only be achieved by dialogue and the dialogue can only be truthful; let the civic committees for salvation be formed. Priests will not belong to them because their task is to prepare the road for national unity according to the gospel; in the organization of unity the participation of lay Catholics should be ensured according to civil laws.

In this way the origin of national dialogue has emerged out of this first dialogue between believers and unbelievers. The PRON movement, while gathering believers and unbelievers at one table, did not remove existing differences of outlook. Catholics have remained Catholics and Marxists have remained Marxists. Only common issues have united us: concern for a threatened homeland, need for openness, and a conviction of the need for rebirth. We give supreme significance to the world rebirth. We are a soft nation, even called feminine because of that, despite the fact that the description is far from understanding of the role of women in the history of our country.

Our softness is based on an inclination to be sentimental and the ease with which we fall into dejection. Even in "Warsovienne," so dear to our hearts, there are the words: Today is the day of triumph of death. But no one, no single man, nor even an entire generation can command the life of its nation and throw its existence on the pyre.

This does not mean that we have a monopoly on patriotism. The patriotism of Poles is well-known and it must not be questioned. We believe that while sitting at the same table we will be able to come to agreement. Was it not Skarga who said: We are sitting at a peaceful table. Do we have to quarrel with each other? How can we expect to be absolved of our sins while we do not absolve our brothers and do not hold off quarrels and hatreds.

Today in Poland many people have succumbed to despondency. Our country has been engulfed with a wave of hopelessness. There are people who have lost faith in everyone and everything. When they are told get up and act, they reply: Why? Nothing will come of it anyway. First let them make it better and easier. Here again is that softness which pushes work on others. In response to it we must acquire fortitude and endurance. We must muster all our strength of spirit and will. One of our greatest poets once said: We need power to lift the Lords work. He linked it with his vision of a Slavonic pope, as if he saw then the Polish pope whom we will welcome in a few weeks time.

One ancestor called this awakening, systematic labor. Some 100 years ago our country experienced a time of torpor and hopelessness and there were many of those who said: It is not worthwhile to do anything. Suddenly initiative flourished, people rolled up their sleeves, and began to labor. Slowly, step by step they created power, which at the right moment demanded rights for Poland.

Luckily our nation is not dying out like so many European nations. Over the past 12 years we have increased by nearly 4 million. True, there are many dangers awaiting our biological vitality and we must not forget that the improvement can prove to be only temporary.

The issue of the youth is the most important one facing us. We know that, just as in the whole world, generation conflicts have increased. These are unpleasant and sometimes painful. Youth is our future, however, and for them our movement must do everything so that they will become worthy of the cause which we hand to them.

Once the primate of the millenium Stefan Wyszynski said, "In order to help the young first of all we must not give them an evil example in the family circle. They should be cared for in their life outside home. We must not be indifferent to what happens to the young at school and in the streets. We must endeavor to understand them. Let us not be indulgent. Let us be critical but let us not exaggerate in passing severe judgements.

We should try to create a chance to act and to do good for the young generation. Let them see brother in every man. Let them learn to help him and to serve him. Let them not set evil examples for anyone. Let them learn honesty and unselfish industry. They can afford it all.

On awaiting the youth in PRON, we first of all expect their participation in the work of molding themselves. In order for the young people to become worthy of facing tasks they must first of all learn and get to know world life. They must be spiritually and physically healthy. We must set our model of a young man who is courageous, generous, with a sense of duty and enthusiasm for work and faith in the future against the model of a young man who acts and dresses peculiarly, who is poisoned with drugs, chasing destructive recreation, and living at the expense of his parents.

There has not been a movement like PRON in Poland before. Perhaps only in the unfulfilled 3 May Constitution can one see something similar. Our people once united in order to repel an enemy with united forces. Today, thank God, we do not have to face an invasion with arms and lives but we need long-lasting work efforts.

Many errors have been committed in Poland and much has been wasted. Many people failed in leading posts. We have had to rebuild from ruins which almost obliterated the achievements of generations during the last war. However, we must not underestimate what has been done over the past 38 years since we were victorious over Hitlerism. The achievements exist and we have to develop them. In order to achieve our objectives we need peace. Peace in the present world is very much threatened. Even moral excuses are being sought for war preparations which recall the Teutonic knights' slogan, God with us, which was confuted at the time by the brilliant argument of Pawel Wlodkowic.

The contribution of PRON to the struggle against war is to make internal peace. We are a nation in which culture has played a great unifying role. Thanks to culture the nation -- torn for nearly 150 years -- was able to grow together again. Hence, our movement is expecting the participation of creative people and first of all their works which will constitute support for our ideas. Culture is not an addition to daily life. A book is just as valauble as a loaf of bread. Cultural creativity is no less important than industrial production or work to supply food.

PRON activity should not remain in words and slogans only. Unifying efforts must be based on the work of a worker, farmer, intellectual artist, and everyone. The period preceedings the congress of necessity had to be a period of assembly and organization. Beginning today we must put concrete tasks in first place. We must talk about these concrete tasks today.

I declare the First PRON Congress to be opened. [applause]

Kostrzewski Speech

LD071900 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0840 GMT 7 May 83

[Speech by Jan Kostrzewski, deputy chairman of the PRON PNC, at the opening session of the first congress of the movement in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Mr Chairman, esteemed congress participants, esteemed guests: The history of PRON is short. Not much more than a year has passed since the creation of the first civic committees for national rebirth, which came into being as an expression of support in the strivings to restore order and calm in the country, or since the Sejm declarations of February, May, and July 1982 on national reconciliation and social and political renewal. Not quite a year has passed since the joint declaration by the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, and the Catholic and Christian associations of 22 July last year, on the movement of national rebirth. The Episcopate called for calm and reconciliation.

The history of the movement is short but can be traced back to Poland's distant history, when facing a threat to freedom and the existence of the state, great ideas and great, long-lasting significant rights were born, which were incentives to national reconciliation and to joining forces in order to save the homeland.

We also go back to the July manifesto of the Committee for National Liberation, which was an historic program for Poland's reconstruction and rebirth after World War II. Our movement came into being, as the draft program declaration proposed before the congress reads, out of the social need and will for rebirth, for national accord, and for the democratic restoration of the republic.

The origin of the movement has its sources and causes linked with the protest by workers and broad masses of the population against the distortions in government and against the mistakes committed in the country's politics and economy. Under the slogan of Solidarity, a movement of citizens desiring to set the country right was born on the wave of that protest. It is regretful that inside that movement influential trends soon appeared whose activity, objectively speaking, led to the destabilization of the state. The authorities' measures aimed at saving the state and stopping the collapse of the economy were not -- as was publically declared -- directed against the desires and ambitions for a reform of the republic, expressed by broad masses of society. On the contrary, the political forces worked out a program of socialist renewal and took steps for its implementation. Against the background of these measures and intentions, PRON emerged, from grassroots initiatives of individual citizens and inhabitants of town and countryside, and from initiatives from above, by the Sejm of the PPR, the party, the other political parties, and political groups. In the initial, preparatory phase, the movement for national rebirth went through rapid transformations. On the one hand, the grassroots structures consolidated and the increasingly numerous civic committee for national rebirth, whose number is now in excess of 10,300 (?began to merge) into voivodship cells.

On the other hand, the PRON initiating commission, formed on the initiative of six signatories, started work aimed at further expanding the movement and broadening its scope by developing local and voivodship cells. Work was begun on compiling the concept of a program and the movement's principles of action, on linking its grassroots and top streams, and on establishing a PNC composed of representatives of all provisional voivodship councils, representatives of civic committees for rebirth, and members of initiating commissions.

Almost 47 percent of the members of the PNC, which numbers 323 members, are citizens who do not belong to the party. There are many Catholic and Christian activists among them.

The council adopted the following as its main programmatic tasks: the accord of Poles on fundamental issues of the nation and state; activities to extricate the country from the crisis and to ensure internal calm in the country; restoration to Poland of the movement; and preparations for the first congress.

At the initial stage of the formation of the movement, basic cells, which are closest to the community, dealt mainly with local problems of citizens, the population's needs, and ways of meeting them, whereas voivodship cells and the PNC devoted most of their time and activities to national matters concerning the whole community.

PRON wants to be, and is becoming, a social movement of all Poles desiring the renewal of the socialist state by means of social and political reforms, who want social conflicts to be resolved through accord, who strive to overcome the present sociopolitical and economic breakdown and to prevent it from recurring. We understand the idea of national accord to be a great social, political, and moral transformation in relations between citizens and the state for their common good. The existence and development of the state are closely connected with a sense of political responsibility and active participation of all citizens who are aware of their tasks and duties in social, economic, and cultural life. This is how we see the movement for national rebirth and its part in the socialist renewal. It is a movement of deeds and actions. And, by its deeds, it ought to become a broad plane for the meeting of various social groups and strata, party members, members of other political parties and nonparty members, people of various outlook, believers, nonbelievers, and others who have joined the movement, as well as social organizations and associations which have declared their participation.

We are all united by our concern for the fate of Poland, its development, its place in Europe and the world, its good name. We understand that socialism has become and is the content as well as guarantee of the social, economic, and political existence of free and sovereign Poland. It creates conditions for its safety and chances for a successful development. It is on this basis that we desire effective activity for the rebirth of the nation and the state.

The movement for national rebirth, the draft programmatic declaration states, is emerging and forming as a permanent component of the socialist political system in Poland. It is not to be a passing phenomenon of martial law or of extricating the country out of the crisis. This is the will of the participants in the movement and the intention of the signatories of the PRON declaration 20 July 1982. PRON represents utterly new phenomenon in Polish political life as a form of combining the efforts of the community and the authorities for national rebirth. Its aim is to agree on ways, directions of activity, and tasks aimed at rebirth and the country's development. Being a plane for dialogue within the community and at the same time for dialogue with the authorities, the movement serves in raising citizens' political culture.

In the political system of the PPR the movement is to perform the following fundamental functions in particular: that of a spokesman for public opinion; organizer of the exchange of views and, if need be, mediator in conflicts; organizer of consultations, criticism, and control of part of the community and prime mover of activities on the part of the authorities in accordance with the needs and expectations of the community; and prime mover of activities on the part of citizens in accordance with the interests of the nation and the state. In this way the movement will serve to broaden the social infrastructure of governing.

The congress opens up new prospects before the movement. We are only at the start of the road. The most important matters are to promulgate the ideas of agreement and rebirth contained in the drafts of the program documents; to gain new participants and supporters for the movement, especially among young people; and to implement the goals and tasks accepted by the congress.

Esteemed congress participants, esteemed guests, we are gathered here to decide on the goals, tasks, program, and organizational principles of our movement. The composition of congress participants is varied, from the point of view of world outlook and milieu, and of social, party, professional, and religious affiliation. We differ in many ways, but we are united -- this was confirmed by the discussion at precongress conferences and meetings -- by the will to reach agreement on issues of the rebirth of the nation; the will for a democratic renewal of our state; and the will to take Poland once again on to the road of development. We are also united by the belief and profound conviction that, despite internal and external discrepancies, our nation is capable of uniting around the most important matter: the good of the homeland.

For the first time in the history of the PPR, a political event of such great import and potential significance for the country as our congress is being attended, with an equally decisive voice, by members of the party, the other political parties, Catholic and Christian associations, and by nonparty people. The movement is open to all who want to work for the country. Joining (?in) the movement's activity as participants, they retain their own characteristics, their own ideological identity and independence. The motives for (?their) activity to promote agreement and the nation's rebirth can come from various sources of Polish culture and various world outlooks, characterizing the broad spectrum of Polish society.

There are, however, values that the participants in the movement want to serve together. They include the principles of the constitutional system, particularly the ideals of social justice. They also find expression in creation of equal opportunities for participation in public life by all citizens. They include respect for work and its fruits, and respect for those who create material and spiritual goods. They include democracy, ensuring real participation by citizens in the exercise of power by the bodies that represent society. Striving toward accord must serve these values as a method of overcoming the discrepancies of intentions and sometimes conflicting interests. It must serve a sense of responsibility by citizens and the observance of the law by state bodies and by citizens, as well as respect for human dignity, tolerance for world outlooks and beliefs, and ordinary human kindness -- man's kindness to his fellow man.

Esteemed gathering, speaking about these lofty goals and values, we await with hope the visit to Poland by Pope John Paul II. We want the second pilgrimage by the holy father to Poland to contribute to the favorable development of the matters currently of greatest importance to the state and the nation: cooperation among citizens, national accord, and normalization of life in the country.

Esteemed congress participants, the draft documents tabled before the congress for debate were born in the course of several months' preparation and underwent transformation as a result of the discussion. The program declaration and the directional trends and methods of the activity of PRON were born slowly, undergoing successive changes. It is not my task to present these documents in full since the participants in the congress have certainly acquainted themselves in detail with their content. I would, however, like to develop some of the presented theses that may arouse the particular interest of participants in the congress and in our movement and of society.

The first issue: national unity and the rebuilding of mutual trust. Polish society is divided by barriers of distrust and mutual reproaches. This state is the source of various (?assessments), accusations, and complaints. The differences and divisions between various sections of society and the representatives of authority, between the members of political groups and nonparty people, between the representatives of the new trade unions that are being formed and their opponents, between the inhabitants of town and countryside, between the generations of young, adult, and old people, have been brought into very strong relief. Despite mutual bitterness and grudges, we have to eliminate these barriers. We have to eliminate divisions not just with verbal arguments but, above all, with the arguments of deeds. For the sides which have arisen in the political conflict of the past 3 years there are not and will not be any victories or defeats. If anyone wanted to assess our present situation in those terms, we would have to convince them that the defeat which threatened and might still threaten us will be the defeat not of one side but of the entire community and the whole country.

Various forces are acting against accord and against building mutual trust. It was painful but also significant that these forces came out into the open directly after the announcement that there is a possibility that a normal situation will be restored in the state, something that depends on calm in the country in the upcoming days and months. We know that inspirations for disturbances arise far from our borders, too, and are remotely controlled. We are counting on the fact that progress made in the movement for accord will bar any external influences from disrupting relations between Poles. Hardly a day goes by that we do not hear about those who have fallen into conflict with the law and who, in accordance with the letter of the law, have acted to the detriment of the state and the community with their attitude and conduct. We would like their numbers to be reduced more and more as a result of our activity. Moreover, we believe that one should avoid rash generalizations which could be taken personally by those who had good intentions and strove honestly to put the state in order and who strove for its rebirth. There were millions of them. We would like to see as many of them as possible taking part in our movement today.

In the precongress discussions the need to settle accounts from the recent past justly and not to permit revenge to be taken on those who lost their way was emphasized on many occasions. The issue was also raised of the need for proper treatment of those freed from palaces of internment and those sentenced for transgressions who have served the sentence passed on them or who have been pardoned. Let us strive to have each citizen, all those who accept the constitutional principles of social life and are guided by the Polish raison d'etat participate in the work for the cause of Poland. Everyone who strives for the rebirth of civic attitudes out of concern for the needs of the state, its raison d'etat, its consolidation, and interests is needed for the country and is needed in our movement.

We want to build national accord and to restore mutual trust on the basis of concern for developing and strengthening the state, for respect for work and for raising the ethics of every profession, respect for common and personal property, fighting social plagues, and countering all distortions. The development and consolidation of democracy in socialist Poland represents a fundamental condition for restoring trust.

Participants in the congress, a fundamental condition for the correct development of democracy, the draft documents state, is a strong law-abiding state which protects the interests of the individual against any violation, above all against the cogs of the bureaucratic machine, a state which protects national interests and which harmonizes them with the interests of various professional groups and social milieux. These matters were the subject of meetings between the PRON presidium and the Sejm Presidium, Council of State, and the Government Presidium. An expansion of the institutional guarantees of law and order and civic rights is essential in the governing mechanism.

That is why we propose a quick passage of the law on the constitutional tribunal, followed by its establishment and the creation of an organ attached to the Sejm of the PPR to protect the rights of citizens against threats of bureaucratism. We propose an expansion of the rights of the national administrative court and the implemention of a reform of the penal law. Nevertheless, the improvement of mechanisms protecting the rights of citizens and rules of law will not achieve its goal if it is not accompanied by a democratization of the methods of wielding power, and by political maturity, a desire to act and acknowledge the affairs of the state among citizens. The process of preparing and introducing the laws to democratize our political system is at an advanced stage. Our movement will participate in the creation of conditions to ensure the full execution of laws that have already been adopted, and to ensure that they are exploited by the organs representing the public, by the self-managements. In this way, we should also ensure broad participation in management [rzadzenie] by citizens.

Our movement proposes a reform of the people's councils that will create a broad field for citizens' initiatives and will ensure their participation in the resolution of matters that concern them. This reform should also create greater opportunities for social control of the activity of the administration, especially local administration. We propose a strengthening of the self-management of citizens, organizations, associations, and institutions in relations with the state economic administration. We consider it necessary to make legal changes in the election mechanisms to the Sejm and the people's councils, in order to create opportunities for citizens to elect deputies and councilors authentically. Alongside an increase in the degree to which the organs of the elected authorities are representative of society, it is necessary to strengthen and enrich the coalition system of government. It is necessary to increase the part played by the citizens of our country who are not members of any party in this system. The legislative actions must be accompanied by a propagation of political culture in society. It is necessary to awaken and create interest in the affairs of the state among all citizens, but particularly among the younger generation. This should create a habit of thinking about society and of general interests.

Now to the affairs of the young -- their problems and aspirations. The republic will be like the young people it brings up. Our young people are no different from the young people of previous generations. Their mental state and attitudes are influenced by the conditions in which they live, study, and work, as well as by their upbringing. In general, the present youth are better educated than that of previous generations. As a result of its education it is better prepared for the tasks and work in a socially and economically developed country. However, there tend to be different evaluations of the young, and often they are extreme. On the one hand, people rise up to say that our young people are magnificent, while others reproach with a lack of respect for work, with an attitude oriented toward satisfying their own needs without concern for the needs of the public as a whole. Both judgements can be right, for our young people are varied. One can be sure of one thing: The potential that slumbers within the young is enormous; it has to be released and utilized to promote the rebirth of the nation and the state. We have made mistakes in our education of the young, and these errors also weigh upon my generation. We created a situation in which the young were able to gain the impression that everything of importance had already been performed by the generations of their fathers and forefathers: the struggle for liberty, the reconstruction of the country, and the development of industry. All we left for the young people to do was to preserve what the older generation had already done and further develop the country. The rebuilding of the country following the destruction was a great labor, a great achievement; however, recent years have demonstrated how illusory was the picture we put before the young, and how much remains to be done by the current generation.

There were other errors in the upbringing and education of the younger generation. For years an insufficient and often one-sided light was cast on history, especially most recent history. The shortcomings of the history program in the schools were not balanced at home. Only periods of social upheaval brought certain historical facts and truths to the surface. They also created myths, which in turn gave birth to conflicts in young minds, together with a suspicion of the (?truths) transmitted. When aiming at accord and cooperation in the work of renewal, we must win over the young to this great cause. There was a generation of young people who rebuilt Poland following the destruction of war. We currently need a generation of young people to take Poland onto the road of development once again, so it assumes its proper place in Europe and the world.

The young generation can certainly cope with this task. PRON offers young people work conditions of open discussion to exchange views and participation, with equal rights, with other participants in the movement.

The fundamental issue of the family is linked with the issues of the young generation. In congress documents, the words nation and state are repeated; and the nation and the state are a family of families. The family is the basic cell of every society; and in it, first and foremost, the views and attitudes of citizens are formed. The institution of the family in the contemporary world is subject to the action of forces that loosen and even break the bonds uniting it. This phenomenon occurs particularly glaringly in rich countries that are economically advanced and in countries with a rapidly expanding industry. The loosening of family ties encourages social pathology; social pathology, particularly alcoholism and dangerously increasing drug addiction, lead to the break-up of the family. Children, above all, fall victim here; and the main burden of maintaining the family falls on the woman, the mother.

Our movement will cooperate with those who are striving to strengthen the Polish family. It will cooperate in creating the proper conditions for those who are establishing those families. It will strive for a gradual improvement in the living conditions of the family. Our movement will also cooperate a combating social plagues that ruin numerous families.

The issue is of cooperation to get the country out of economic collapse. The movement is to be a permanent fixture in the country's political and economic system. It is to operate for the (?long-term) development and consolidation of the state but it cannot ignore issues that are important and brook no delay. These issues include getting the country out of economic crisis. Taking on and carrying out this task requires the mobilization of all the nation's forces, capabilities, and talents; and, above all, it requires hard and sustained work. It also demands of many citizens of our country a change of attitude and approach to work. In no society, particularly in a developed society of a country of rapidly expanding industry, are there important and unimportant professions. There is no important and unimportant work. All well-executed professions and kinds of work are necessary to meet the growing needs of society for the country's development. All are worthy of respect. The effective work of the laborer and farmer is important; the work of the teacher, tutor, and priest is important; the work of health service workers, nurses, and doctors is important. Good work by office workers in all types of institutions and offices; the work of the craftsman, of trade and transport employees; and the activity of the scientific and cultural worker, working in rhythm with the national effort, is important.

We are undertaking work on getting the country out of crisis in exceptionally difficult and unfavorable conditions, when the restrictive policy of some Western countries, particularly the United States, has increased the degree of difficulty to extreme limits.

In this difficult situation we can, however, count on the help and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other friendly countries. This help enables our economy to fulfill the tasks currently facing it and contributes to halting the process of economic degradation. Hard toil, however, is before us to halt this process definitively and to reverse the previous trends in the direction of economic development.

Our movement welcomes the work already undertaken on bringing in the economic reform which is an important weapon in the struggle for economic development. The movement wants to join in this work.

Finally, the last issue: Poland and Poles in the international arena. It has been 38 years since the end of the war. The second generation of Poles is growing up in peace. For centuries there has not been such a long period in which our country has lived without war. We are, however, witness to actions on the part of the imperialist powers which threaten the (?country's) peace. Nobody can ever foresee, from the mass production of more and more powerful weapons which are filling arsenals, when it will come down to their use. Calm in Poland and the security of her borders are inseparably linked with peace in Europe and the world. We do not want our country to be treated as an instrument in the struggle for imperial interests, to be pushed into the center of a confrontation which may take in the whole world. We do not want interference in our Polish affairs and the application of illegal sanctions and restrictions which strike at the nation.

The movement supports all actions taken by Poland, its allies and all forces of progress and peace with a view to putting a stop to the arms race and bringing about disarmament. We are against the spreading of hostilities and national, racial, and religious prejudices. We want to cooperate with everyone in the world who thinks like we do. We would like to make the Poles abroad a natural partner in these activities. We are counting on the help and participation of Poles abroad in work devoted to maintaining and consolidating peace and to strengthening Poland's position in the world. We want to tighten the bonds among Poles scattered around the world -- those who were born beyond Poland's borders and those who were born here but have left forever the country of their ancestors and found themselves abroad. We want to maintain and consolidate ties with the most recent emigrees, both permanent and temporary. This includes those who will return to the country. The country needs their work. Hard work, no doubt, awaits them, but the toil of previous Polish generations was no lighter.

In conclusion I would like to quote the following words from the text of the final draft of the programmatic declaration: Our declaration speaks of what we want to be in our Polish sociopolitical life, whereas practice, the ability to bring into effect the ideas declared, and the ability to implement our program, will decide in reality what we are going to be. Yes, the time has now come not for words but deeds. Thank you very much for your attention.

Jaruzelski Speech

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[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the opening session of the first PRON Congress in Warsaw -- live]

[Text] Citizens, esteemed assembly: We are opening an important chapter in the chronical of Poland's social and political history. The need for national accord has not suddenly occurred today; it could have become reality a long time ago, benefitting the nation and the state. We spoke about it when the country shuddered with fever in 1980 and 1981; we confirm it today.

The party and people's authority have not departed for one moment from the idea of national accord, even in the most difficult moments. The time has come today to crown the idea with concrete programmatic and organizational results. As chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, I would like, with particular appreciation, to underline the important role played during the memorable winter days of 1981-82 by civic committees for national salvation emerging of their own accord throughout the country. For soldiers, whom constitutional rule charges with important duties toward Poland, these committees were valuable support. They testified to the nation and to the world that the only Polish road to renewal leads through salvation.

We do not know how history will assess our searchings, struggle, and attempts. But we can be sure of one thing: In ensuring the continuity of the Polish state in its only possible socialist form, we have done everything so that even the most difficult decisions were taken by Poles themselves, in the name of Poland, and at the same time the most broadly-conceived interests. Crises, failures, and collapses have occurred in various periods of history and in various countries. As a rule, in order to get out of them, an antidemocratic road was chosen. In spite of everything, we want to overcome the accumulated conflicts by means of broad, democratic reforms, by appealing to the patriotic responsibility of society, with only limited and temporary use of extraordinary measures. This is a great test for the whole nation. Passing the test quickly and successfully depends on us -- on the authorities and on society. It also depends to a considerable extent on whether PRON fulfills the hopes placed in it; whether it becomes a bridge between the years of conflicts, animosity, and tensions and a better, peaceful future for our homeland.

We must seek all available ways, means, and methods to build a strong and impermeable barrier against the return of crises, so that never again will we allow the bonds to be broken between the authorities and the working people. The fundamental guarantee of this should be the system of socialist democracy, and our movement has a particular role in this.

The Polish left, with supreme national interests in mind, has called more than once in our history for rejection of narrow group and class egoism. The Polish left saw the agreement between patriotic forces as an opportunity for opposing the threat to the nation. Such was its stance in face of the expansion of Hitlerite fascism.

This line was adopted by the PZPR during the years of occupation. The idea of national accord constituted one of the principal programmatic currents of the party's ninth congress. We hold to it today also. The watchword of accord, however, requires a more precise definition. It is often understood in a simplistic way as accord between x and y, between one group and another group, between the authorities and the community. But the point is first and foremost not between whom there is to be accord but on what issue, to what end. This end must be stated clearly without leaving anything unsaid.

The following must be and will remain fundamentally significant for national accord: first the ensuring of Poland's external safety, the integrity of its borders, its state territory; second, the ensuring of calm, internal harmonization, conflict-free resolution of social contradictions; third, the ensuring of real conditions for improving the nation's material and cultural existence, for the progress of civilization in Poland. These issues are inseparable. They cannot be attained in a state of internal breakup without the international guarantees which are secured for us by alliance with the Soviet Union and participation in the defense coalition of the Warsaw Pact, without the leading role of the party, without a strong state and socialist democracy.

Esteemed delegates, men of action, those who do not want to stand aside during difficult times for the homeland, have joined PRON. It is an open movement. It could be called a confederational movement, accessible to everyone who, while preserving his own outlook and own point of view, recognizes its objectives and actively supports the patriotic, constitutional programmatic plan. There is room in it for all honest people -- irrespective of the kind of work they are carrying out -- for workers, peasants, members of the intelligentsia, craftsmen and small-scale manufacturers. There is scope in it for every social group, for every individual who associates his road through life with the common good, who finds a role suitable for himself in the process of building socialism.

The movement contains as great a variety of people as does the reality of Poland -- the mosaic formed by long years of our tangled history. We do not ask them for a curriculum vitae. We do not make rash classifications of the disoriented and those who have lost their way. We accept every application that stems from purely patriotic motives. We also accept them from those who in the past have found themselves on the opposite side. We do not wish to multiply enemies, especially at a time when every pair of Polish hands is needed.

PRON already numbers among its ranks a considerable number of diverse social associations and organizations. There are hundreds of them in our country. They range from those which, on the general national scale, represent various milieus, to those which number only a few people and in whose ranks are assembled people interested in some particular area of common activity. This represents a very valuable strand of our social life. Every social group, even the smallest, should find in socialism an opportunity to act positively, to follow up its creative passion, to actively participate in the life of the collectivity. When we are building accord, we do not go in fear of controversy, of the clash of arguments and views. We do not want any blank spaces in our discussion nor any passing over in silence of the real problems. Nevertheless, the movement cannot be a source of political neuroses. It should provide a platform of responsible discussion of the real issues of the present and future of socialist Poland. This is by no means a matter of applauding the actions of the authorities. The authorities need objective criticism when they err, and concrete support when they act correctly.

There are also many people of good will in our country -- conscientious workers and representatives of what is called the silent majority. It is to them, above all, that our message is addressed. It is not true that they are silent. Every day their work and dignified attitude -- despite difficult living conditions and despite all the many problems -- cast a vote for accord and calm, for a better future for the homeland. How eloquently they proved this during the recent May Day parades, how powerfully they resounded with the voice of the millions to whom at times apathy and discouragement are ascribed!

During the initial states of our movement, attempts were made not to notice it, to overlook it. Later, attempts were made to belittle it and make light of it. At present, some have begun to blacken it, to combat it. This is the best possible proof that even before it has finally constituted itself the movement has become a real force. And is is not an extemporaneous or temporary solution. We want it to become a lasting component of our political life. The signatories of the July declaration -- the party, the allied parties, the associations of Christian and lay Catholics -- wish to scrupulously observe its autonomy as an organization and its essence.

The movement's development can be threatened by paternalism on one hand -- that is, by treating it as a kind of extension of the authorities, a representative of society which issues instructions. On the other hand, temptations could arise to turn it into a basis for concepts and activities which history disqualified a long time ago. We trust that PRON will avoid the two extremes.

I would like to say a few words on the subject of the party's role in the movement. Its role in the state is defined by the Constitution. The most important thing, however, is that the party is the spokesman for the interests of the main social force -- the working class -- and that it expresses and implements most fully the ideological and political principles of socialism. This defines the party's special political and moral responsibility for the successful development of the movement, for its significance in the social life of the country. Members of the party who respect the principles of the declaration will refer in discussion to businesslike and rational arguments. We want them to give an example of such ideological and political stances which will gain social approval. This will be a precious experience for the party which will enrich its links with nonparty members. It is also -- and it will be -- a platform for further tightening harmonious cooperation with the allied parties and with associations of lay Catholics. Its durability has been tested in the most difficult period. It thus constitutes a valuable contribution to the building of the all-national agreement.

Esteemed participants of the congress, socialism is the path of mankind's historic progress. Not everybody is a Marxist and not everybody is willing to accept this view without discussion. It is worth remembering, however, that less than 100 years have elapsed since even children of tender years were employed in the weaving plants of Lodz and Zyrardow. The authorities of that time believed that this was perfectly normal and in accordance with the natural order of the world.

There are few people in Poland today who openly question the social and moral principles which the workers' movement -- socialism, in fact -- has imposed through dogged struggle. At present even rabid reactionaries conceal their real goals behind a mask of ostensible defense of workers' interests. This is edifying proof of historical changes, a yardstick of the strength of socialism.

When defining the goals and aims of accord, we must reply with equal clarity to the question: Who is our enemy? With whom can there be no accord? The answer is: the enemy, the opponent, the antisocialist forces. For many people these are abstract, undefined notions, which are not fully comprehensible. That is why they have to be explained. The enemies of Poland are not those countries with different social systems which pursue a policy of peace. The enemies are the aggressive forces of world imperialism and their actual domestic agencies. The enemies of Poland are not those people who have views that differ from ours, but those people who act against the interests of their own nation and state. Poland's enemies are not those who doubt the correctness of the road we have chosen. They are those who deliberately hinder us on this road and delay our emergence from the crisis. It is not important here whether they speak English, German, or Polish. What is important is that they wish to weaken Poland and bring about its ruin [pograzyc]. There is no need to exaggerate the real opportunities open to the opponents of socialism, but they are not able to reverse the course of history. The best they can do is to obstruct, to delay the process of normalization, and thus to defer the prospect of lifting martial law and the decisions and acts connected with it.

The activities of our opponents cannot be considered separately from the global stragetic plans of imperialism. They are, quite simply, part of this policy. A button is pressed in Washington and stones get thrown in Polish streets. May he who maintains that this is a simplification, prove that he condemns the anticommunist crusade, the revanchists' plans, the sanctions aimed against Poland. Let him protest the use of Polish events in foreign in-fighting. Pseudopatriotic dressings are good only for those who are blind, narrow-minded or naive.

For as long as a year and a half our country has been one of the most important for the present U.S Administration. Perhaps it has even become the most important firing ground of the cold war. The internationalization of the so-called Polish question is proceeding at Poland's expense. No human rights are at stake. In fact, these are of no concern to anybody beyond the ocean. This can be proved by the brutality of the pro-American dictatorships which are financed, armed, and protected by the alleged apostles of democracy. Freedom is not at stake. The United States denies it persistently to the Palestinian nation, to the nations of Central America, to the black majority of South Africa. Only one thing is at stake: imperialist superiority over the world, and to be able to export counterrevolution with impunity, to be able to intervene illegally in the internal affairs of sovereign states and nations. Between Lebanon and Nicaragua, between Kampuchea and El Salvador -- everywhere the hand of the American world policeman is trying to crush any impluse for real freedom, any genuine uprising movement. Even a fascist can be used for this end, Somoza will do, or Stroessner, or Pinochet, or the executioner of Guatemalan Indians, or one who commits genocide like Pol Pot.

These truths cannot be heard in the missives from Washington, nor in the programs of subversive radio stations. It is hard to believe that only a few years ago the irreversibility of detente was spoken about. The policy of confrontation and destabilization patronized by NATO, the persistent evasions of Soviet peace initiatives, have led to a very dangerous deterioration of the world situation. This also threatens the cause of Poland's national existence. The arms race, particularly the intentions to deploy new missiles, increases tensions and revives the calculations for a change of the territorial order of Europe.

Revanchist forces in the FRG have always sought fuel in our weaknesses, (?have always) fed on tensions in the world. The greater the number of threats to peace, the easier it was for the revanchists to find an ear. And so it is today.

So what do the organizers of street brawls in Polish Wroclaw, Szczecin, and Gdansk have to say now, when beyond the Elbe the contemptuous view that Poles cannot govern themselves is openly coming to life again? Whose side are those people on? What do they want to prove? Whom do they want to serve?

It must be said firmly and openly that those who sow anxiety, whether or not they are aware of it, in reality fulfill the role of a fifth column which acts against Poland's fundamental interests. [applause]

It was not we who proclaimed a Polish-American cold war. We do not need it. Putting forward conditons to Poland will not achieve anything. There is no point in counting on our capitulation. The United States had to withdraw in shame from Vietnam; sooner or later they will withdraw from the infamous campagn against Poland. [applause]

The great historic achievement of the present generation of Poles, linked with our country's post-war international situation, is a sense of security, an established certainty of sovereign state existence of the inviolability of our borders. Poles have simply got out of the habit of sitting on a volcano. It must be said, however, that a kind of excess of this certainty, sometimes outright unconcern, is occurring -- sometimes downright jauntiness. We are also faintly aware of the dangers which have appeared in recent times for peace and therefore for Poland. The day after tomorrow we mark the 38th anniversary of victory over Nazism. A decisive role in this was played by our great fighting ally, the Soviet Union. Our Polish part in the victory was also glorious.

We remember with respect the veterans of the liberation war who fought under all battle standards: soldiers from regular and guerrilla units, participants in the resistance movement and in the underground teaching movement; the defenders and insurgents in Warsaw; the heroes of the Belorussian fields and the Libyan deserts; of the Pomorze rampart and the Atlantic; the captors of Berlin and Monte Cassino; sappers and airmen; brave women auxilliaries and nurses. The Polish list is long, the pages of heroism innumerable. Thanks to it, we were able to find ourselves among the victors. To those who fell, those who in the struggle for a free Poland gave their youth and health, we should pay homage today in everlasting memory, but also in a moment of more profound reflection.

May I be permitted to recall a personal memory? Exactly 38 years ago, on 7 May 1945, as an officer in the 5th Infantry Regiment of the Polish Army, after a long journey on the battle front from [word indistinct], I found myself on the Laba River. This was a great thing, to be able to stand in Polish uniform on the bank of a river which had once been deep inside the German reich. It seemed then that this was the last of the Polish wars; that nothing would threaten the results of victory. Unfortunately, many contemporary facts again give rise to the question: Are the fruits of that day in May permanent enough? In our history great military victories or political successes have sometimes been wasted. Where far-sightedness was vital, self-appeasement, egoistic blindness, dissension have forced their way in. Where it was essential to think about matters of state far in advance, over a decade, lack of perseverance and inability to make use of successes caused more damage sometimes than a lost battle. We must not repeat this error. May 1945 gave Poland secure and just borders, gave us an unfailing system of alliances based on an ideological community; it created the foundations for a new defense quality for our country. The historic progress of Poland in the second half of the 20th century is an obvious fact, but neither the number of our population nor the size of our state's territory, nor the great achievements of the post-war era are anything by themselves; they are not decisive. We must fight everybody to consolidate our place in Europe and in the world. Poland, paralyzed by internal squabbling, rendered impotent, in the midst of anarchy once more, cannot cope with such a task.

It was pointed out in the document of the PRON PNC that there are in our society various contradictions and divisions. In the majority of cases they are not antagonistic but there also exists a sharp, truly antagonistic, dividing line. It is dividing those who endeavor to lift the country upwards from those who are hindering this work; dividing those who want to consolidate the socialist state from those who dream about a trade unionist-anarchistic nonsense [anarcho-syndykalistyczna bzdura] which, by the way, was never translated into reality anywhere. We do not hear about a self-managing England or France nor about a completely collectivized [uspoldzielczonej do szczetu] America.

I would like to repeat once more with full emphasis: the party, the people's power, reiterate the repeatedly expressed stance: The worker's protest of 1980 was justified. We continue repeatedly to confirm our understanding of its class intentions as expressed in the slogan: Socialism yes, distortions no.

We accept and preserve everything that was useful and creative in every historical period. We understand the motives of millions of working people, including so many party members who found themselves in the ranks of the former Solidarity and whose trust was so deceitfully abused. We can well remember examples of breach of confidence and attempts to outwit. Let those who nearly brought about a national catastrophe not deck themselves out with peacock feathers and reach for the golden horn.

We cast aside vengeance and discrimination. If this principle was departed from anywhere, it was contrary to the intentions of the authorities. However, we oppose with equal firmness examples of exerting pressure and stigmatizing those who bravely voice their support for socialism on the front of social activeness. A fundamental criterion for judging a citizen is his attitude at the present time, the part he takes in the national effort. [applause]

Esteemed assembly, socialism has created for Poland, as for other nations in our part of Europe, a great prospect for development. On the historical scale this prospect has been used. However, we ponder today the question why the way our community feels differs unfavorably from the social climate in other socialist countries.

The answer that comes to mind once again is that it was not the failure of socialism in Poland, but lack of it. A crisis of confidence, straining beyond the limits of collective awareness, still continues in our country. There are many people who have become disenchanted with everything. They no longer believe in anything or anyone. It is necessary, in accordance with our movement's slogan, to restore faith in the sense of actions, to restore many elementary [word indistinct] which for many reasons have not been able to become sufficiently formed. Unfortunately, the view is also going round that there is no need for the rebirth of the community, that it has almost attained the peak of perfection, that only the authorities are afflicted with a disease. These voices are voices taken straight out of the nobility's regional councils, catch and calculated for applause. There is a thin but morally significant dividing line between demagogy and civic reflection.

The authorities have no intention of concealing their own shortcomings. They have demonstrated this on may occasions. They have been lashed and have lashed themselves as no one in the world has ever done. But the Polish authorities are not just the supreme cells, not just the central and local administration, they are also hundreds of millions of people [as heard], authorized to make various decisions, which influence the daily life and the moods of citizens. They are all a true part of the community, its product and reflection.

Perhaps this sound harsh but the truth must not be dressed up. Polish shortcomings are not a product of socialism, but a combination of causes stemming from the complex and many-centuries' long fate of our nation. Have those poeple who ascribe all the evil in Poland to socialist authorities never opened the great pages of our historical writings? From Modrzewski and Skarga, Staszyc and Lelewel, Prus and Pruszynski, through every generation in fact, runs the bitter question of why the interest of the state is so feebly conceived in our country, why the ethics of public life is so low, why there is so often a wrong attitude toward work, where so much envy and obstinacy comes from, so much -- as the writer said -- mongrelism, why slander breeds so easily and gossip is heard. The quality of relations between people also influences civic attitudes. Last year I asked, from the Sejm tribune, how it is that it is precisely in Poland that democracy so easily degenerates into anarchy and power so easily becomes distorted.

On this subject there is still no reflection which is deep enough and reaches into the roots. I believe that this issue must be taken up by our movement, that it must be discussed and that the broadest social masses will have to be made aware of this. The Polish home, family, and school have great merits in social upbringing and in popularizing love for the homeland. However, it is necessary that they should propagate the fundamental values which determine the functioning of all social echelons and groups, and thus of the nation, too.

It is necessary that they should implant and teach ordinary human honesty, a fair attitude of one human being toward another, a sense of attachment to the home town, region and village, to the national songs and poetry, a genuine knowledge of and respect for other nations and a conviction that work, above all, is the source of moral order and of the sense of real social usefulness.

Social plagues are often discussed. Admittedly, compared with many other European countries, the appropriate figures in Poland regarding crime, for example, are visibly lower. However, the sheer fact of the existence of social pathology hurts and is painful. For socialist society it constitutes justified concern. Our struggle with demoralization has been stepped up. The law on upbringing in sobriety and on counteracting alcoholism will come into force in a few days' time. The law on proceedings in the cases of minors has already been introduced. Other familiar laws have been implemented, too. Various activities have been undertaken. However, there is no law, and there never will be one, which through its sheer existence could eliminate social sickness. It is necessary that various forces should actively cooperate with each other, as well as various institutions, and the authorities and echelons of PRON, of social organizations and the opinion-molding circles. We also see a great scope for activities by the church in this. I would like to say here a few words about my stance with regards to the prospect of relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church.

We do not treat cooperation with the church as a temporary tactical necessity. We want it to be beneficial for the state and the nation. It is a realistic aim. We rely on the church as an institution able to combine the nature of its pastoral mission with respect for internal and international interests of our statehood. The socialist state of Poland is the main organizer of our collective life. It represent all the citizens, that is, those who believe and those who do not. The broad masses of lay Catholics participated actively in building the PPR from the start. it is possible not only to coexist on a foundation of this kind but to cooperate constructively in certain areas. The more profound the way in which the church views the socialist state is the embodiment of superior national interests, the greater the bilateral benefits of this cooperation can be. Those of the clergy who, under the influence of unreserved anticommunism or superficial emotions, act in a way which damages internal inner peace, also damage the long-term interests of the church. Meetings with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, consolidate my hope that long-term agreement is possible, although there are a many serious problems ahead of us.

The visit of John Paul II has been announced for next month. The head of the Vatican state, leader of the Catholic Church, our compatriot, will be greater heartily on Polish soil with the respect due to him. Despite the fact that the stance of the state authorities of the PPR has been and remains unchaning with regard to this matter, various deliberately fanned speculations have not been quashed. Unfortunately, they were again nourished by the recent street incidents. Not everyone wants a papal visit. Various forces and groups are actively working to maintain the international isolation of our country, to cordon off Poland with an impassable barrier. We expect the visit to contribute to the reconciliation and accord which are so vitally necessary to our nation today. We also trust that the moral values it will yield will serve the real interests of Poland well.

Respected assembly, one hears questions: What lies ahead of us? What legacy will we leave for future generations? There can only be one reply: It will be such a socialist Poland as we are able to build. The road to it was charted by the ninth extraordinary PZPR congress. We are persistently going along this road. Martial law has not only halted, but broadened the scale and accelerated the speed of the reforming activities.

The process of repair of the functioning of the state, of deepening its socialist essence, continues. Undoubtedly, PRON will actively foster this process.

Comprehensive legislative changes have embraced almost all areas of life, creating the legal framework for socialist renewal, tying more closely together the processes of consolidation of state authority and the development of socialist democracy in all its manifestation. The appropriate importance is being given to the demands of the law-observance and the principles of justice. As normalization progresses, civil liberties will be broadened for all those who respect Polish socialist statehood. But the activities of the incorrigible opponents of the socialist state which are contrary to the law, will be restricted and prosecuted no less resolutely. State authority is becoming stronger, more effective. This is contributed to by a gradual improvement in the quality of work of its organs -- the central and the local administration. The implementation of service regulations is accompanied by changes in the personnel policy. Management cadres at all levels have been changed to a broad extent. Although wrongful dismissals have taken place, in general these are changes for the better. Now, greater stabilization is indicated. At the same time there are no obstacles for broadening the social base of governing, in particular, for the participation of nonparty persons.

The criterion of party or organizational membership, of course, continues to be significant because that is normally the way in which a citizen's public activity is manifested. However, it should not be the deciding criterion. Factual suitability -- professional and social -- for holding a particular function or office should be decisive. Of course, at the same time, identifying with the socialist state is obligatory as a cardinal requirement. Equally unambiguous should be the attitude to the code of ethics, which is obligatory for every activist of our state. With regard to civil servants, such a code will be shortly introduced as a document for which we hold great hope. It will surely strengthen the effectiveness of struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism, and fulfill a helpful role in raising the work culture of the state administration. It will be beneficial for reviewing letters and proposals in a thorough and objective manner.

Here I would like to mention that, together with the idea of improving the ancillary function of the administration toward society, a compendium containing the most important in practice citizen's rights and the duties of civil servants, has been published.

The new, more integral system conception of the principles for carrying out inspections within the administration should also further this end. At the same time, we are relying on the inspecting activity of the people's councils, of the self-managements, of the trade unions, and -- of course -- of the links of PRON. Social inspection favors openness in the life of the state, broad information about action programs and about the course their implementation is taking. There are many such facts. Meetings are being systematically held between members of the political and state leadership and the workforces of work enterprises, with representatives of the various social milieus. They constitute one more form that confronts intentions and achievements with the expectations of the public, a source of knowledge of the sore points that torment the working people. We expect that the links of the movement, too, will be the prime movers and organizers of meetings of this kind -- as was the case yesterday in the Sejm building.

The notion of consultation has become part of the lexicon of our public life. It is gradually becoming an increasingly broad practice to avail oneself of public opinion on plans, key decisions, and settlements relating to the affairs of the state and the economy.

This is an important element in the system of provisions to prevent a return of voluntarism and arrogance in the authorities. With this in mind we agreed, during the recent joint session of the government Presidium and the Interim Coordinating Council [as heard] of PRON, to conclude that the issue of consultation has matured to the point of legislative solution. The draft assumptions of this law were published today and will be subject to public discussion.

There is a repeated question: What are the guarantees that our intentions regarding the functioning of the state will be implemented consistently and fully? There is one answer to this: the strengthening of the people's rule [ludowladztwo], the mass participation by citizens in the resolution of the affairs of the state and the econony -- in all links and at every level of social life -- as far-sighted Lenin wrote. The organization and assembly of the masses, drawing them into active creation acvitity, is the key to the solution of the most difficult tasks involved in the socialist reconstruction of society.

Respected citizen delegates, the years that lie before us will not be easy. Thus, the need is all the more urgent to combine the social activity with effectiveness on the part of the state. Demographers predict that in just 7 years we will have over 2 million additional citizens. In the year 2000 we shall have a population of 40 million. More than 32 million of them, that is, as much as 80 percent, will be citizens now alive. The generation of 1982 will come of age. The young age of the Polish population is an immense wealth, but it also creates many complicated tasks. It is assessed that in 16 years, due to a high population growth, we shall have here in Poland nearly 5 million children and young people of school age. At the same time, the number of old-age and other pensioners will reach about 6 million.

Let me quote the following figures to give a concise picture of this trend: Whereas in 1980 there were for each 1,000 working people nearly the same number of unemployed, in 1985 there will be as many as 1,130 of them; and in 1990, 1,300. The reduction of working hours makes the situation even more acute. At the same time, along with increasing needs in the fields of education, culture, and the health services, a further increase in the need for housing will occur. This is the reality.

Compared with many others, our country is rich in natural resources. One must not forget, however, that mining is a very capital-intensive industry; it uses great outlays. These resources are not inexhaustible and therefore one has to manage them economically. This is a great national duty.

Among the natural resources, pride of place must be given to the soil which provides the basis for the nation's food. The development of towns, industry, and transportation, inevitably causes a reduction in arable land. Since 1945, 1.5 million hectares have ceased producing crops. This represents the area of two average voivodships. According to the assessment of statisticians, by the year 2,000 we shall lose -- as far as agriculture is concerned -- an area equal to another average province.

The conclusions to be drawn from this is unequivocal: We are becoming more numerous and there is less and less land. Cultivation of every patch of it and securing ever better yields, becomes of utmost importance. The development of civilization, along with the obvious benefits, brings about many dangers too. They have begun to accumulate dangerously: polluted waters, air full of dust, a shortage of water. These are problems which we can neither avoid nor give up.

Enormous expenditure, amounting to many millions, is needed for the protection of the natural environment. However, no matter how large the resources allocated, they will not be sufficient if the cooperation of man, of the entire community, does not accompany them. We need to take a new view of Poland, the Poland which exists physically, which is still beautiful but whose beauty is in danger. A sin committed against one's native nature, the flora, the landscape or the fauna, also deserves to be condemned. This is a great problem of social pedagogics. Let us take a look at the world that surrounds us. Yet another technological breakthrough is going on in the most highly industrialized countries; the search for cheaper sources of power, more economical technologies, qualitatively new solutions. Are we to reconcile ourselves to degradation, to second or third place even, in the world race? This is the true challenge. It is necessary already today, now, to decide on the future of Poland, its place. It must be realistic thinking. In the world of sharpened competition, there is room only for those who are strong, hard working, and stubborn.

We are aware of the community's aspirations, its needs created by the progress of civilization. We do not want to be a country of disappointed people, without chances for justified and fair earnings, for wealth accumulated through honest work. May what we have in our native home, even if it is more modest, perhaps less attractive, be obtained through honest work, something one can rely on and something that is justly divided.

We have at our disposal immense material and manpower potential. As is known, this potential is not put to full use. We have almost 1.5 million people with a higher education today. This includes almost 400,000 engineers of various specializations. For every 100 Polish adults, 6 have a higher education certificate; 33,000 Poles have a doctor's degree; there are approximately 5,000 lecturers and 3,000 professors. One can thus say that we are one of the academic powers of Europe. How is this, however, to be reconciled with the delays in many spheres of our sciency, technology, natural, and social sciences?

The easiest thing to do is to say that the authorities have not created the right conditions for the development of science. Undoubtedly, there is an element of truth in this. But do academic milieus really have nothing to blame themselves for? Can the nation's settling of accounts, with its own conscience pass over employees of various institutes, scientific establishments, research centers? They have many achievements of which Poland can rightly be proud, but there are perhaps too few of these achievements for our needs and capabilities. There is no sphere in our socioeconomic life where there are no substantial reserves, no conditions for better activity.

Economic reform is an important lever. A suitable constructive political climate is necessary for it and for many other activities which have recently been implemented. PRON can contribute greatly to creating this climate. The Sejm recently passed a law on the economic plan for 1983-85. The saving and antiinflationary programs are well known. However, we do not restrict ourselves to the activities which are to take place within the next 3 years. Work on the long-term program up to 1990 is well advanced. Poland's participation in CEMA helps to define the tasks in question. The assistance acquired and the beneficial cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries belonging to the community, as well as the progressing process of socialist integration, also help.

When worries burden us, it is more difficult to act with impetus and imagination. However, no nation can do without them. I am addressing young citizens in particular with these words. Do not be influenced by the psychology of hopelessness, the idiotic theories of the lost generation.

Yours is the future and you are the future of Poland. [lengthy applause] Your work, your education and stances will determine to a large extent what it is going to be like. Facts will determine it; deeds will determine it. The scope for their creation is becoming broader and broader.

PRON is helping to create these possibilities, apart from the vocational work. The trade unions are creating them, as are the self-managements in factories and regions. Those who are absent are wrong, they are left behind, they are losing their chances. We believe that the young patriotic generation of Poles will fulfill their sacred duty toward the homeland in a dignified manner. [lengthy applause]

Citizens, we have laid unassailable foundations under the construction of socialist reforms. The crisis which is still in progress makes their full exploitation more difficult. However, everybody who wants to and who is capable of seeing things objectively, realizes that Poland is recovering and becoming more mature. This is already an obvious fact.

The unprecedented political awakening of the public in recent years, the high degree of tensions and discussion -- all this means that we still tend to think in terms of Poland before August or after August, before December or after December. But life has rights of its own.

Tiem's motion is forward. The Poland of May 1983 is already a different country. Each successive month will take us further away from the chapter we closed in August 1980, and from the brink we stood on at the end of 1981. It will force us to solve the complex problems of the end of the 20th century. Irrespective of differences of view, an enormous responsibility toward the homeland weighs upon us. A responsibility to the socialist community, to Europe, and to the world as a whole.

May the map of the PPR prove to be the final and irrevocable map of our country! May the socialist sovereign state of the Poles become a lasting constructive factor for peace in Europe! Our assembly provides a suitable occasion for this task to resound with the force of a national appeal. [applause] We believe PRON will fulfill the public's expectations. I wish all the delegates here assembled -- when they discuss the Poland of the present day -- to clearly perceive before them the Poland that is on the way. [applause]

Report on 7 May Session

LD071852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 May 83

[Unidentified correspondent's report from the studio at the 7 May session of the First PRON Congress]

[Excerpts] In the afternoon session of the first congress, following the speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, the delegates continued the plenary debate. The congress commissions will work through the night.

During today's debates the congress concerned itself with organizational matters. It passed the agenda and regulations of the deliberations, and the composition of the program, statute, resolutions, and recommendations commissions were approved. The congress passed a resolution concerning the principles for selecting a PRON National Council, a chairman of the National Council, and a Central Financial Control Commission.

After the speech by Kostrzewski, a discussion began, opened by Adolf Ciborowski, chairman of the Warsaw PRON Council. He said, among other things: We are only at the beginning of moral and social renewal, at the beginning of building agreement. The most important issues require the good will of all participants in public life. Meanwhile, there are still too many people looking at us incredulously. We must win over those who are standing on the sidelines, convince them that there is no alternative to accord and agreement. One of the elements of agreement should be the lifting of martial law. This decision, lying in the power of the supreme state authorities, should, however, be an expression of the will of the whole of society to maintain law and order. All participants in the movement are sorry because of the exclusion from normal life of a handful of citizens who became tools in the hands of foreign manipulators. These young people, who lost their way, should be restored to society.

The events of 1981-83 showed clearly the lack of political culture in society, said Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, member of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It led us almost to the edge of the abyss. The state of political culture can only be improved by ensuring the subjective role of society in the country's life. It is therefore necessary that the change in the system of government — that is, socialist renewal — be carried through.

National Council Elected

LD082209 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Warsaw 8 May — Sunday was the second day of deliberations of the First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), attended by about 1,900 delegates from across the country. Throughout the day plenary discussion centered on drafts of the movement's main documents: programmatic declaration, directions and methods of PRON's activity, as well as the statutory principles. Considerable progress [words indistinct] in shaping the contents of the documents and many proposals and postulates were gathered. A lively discussion was also continued in all task groups appointed by the congress.

Today's deliberations were attended by representatives of the supreme state authorities, among them the first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, General Wojciech Jaruzelski; the president of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski; and the Sejm Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa. The main event of today's congress proceedings was the election of a 400-strong National Council of PRON and an 80-strong Central Financial Control Commission of the movement.

The congress also elected the chairman of the National Council. He is Jan Dobraczynski, a well-known Catholic writer and hitherto chairman of the movement's Provisional National Council.

National Council Ends Deliberations

LD090918 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Half an hour ago, Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the PRON National Council, closed today's deliberations. In the course of the deliberations today the congress adopted a resolution on the programmatic declaration and the directions and methods of PRON's activity after taking into account proposals and corrections, and after the final text of the documents was edited by the editorial team which has been set up. The resolution on the programmatic declaration was adopted with 1 vote against and 22 abstentions.

MATERIALS ON 28 APR SEJM SESSION, 1983-1985 PLAN

Kaminski Presents 1983-1985 Plan

AU041520 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 3

[Speech by Sejm Deputy Jan Kaminski at the 28 April Sejm session in Warsaw: "The Principles of the Plan for the Years 1983-1985; the Anti-Inflation and Savings Program"]

[Text] In December last year, the Sejm selected one of the variants of the 3-year plan which had been presented by the government. After wide consultations with various professional circles and deputies' debates, and after the opinion of the Socioeconomic Council had been obtained, the Sejm approved the second variant of the plan as the one on which the final plan should be worked out. In accordance with the Sejm's choice, the government worked out a comprehensive concept of the 3-year plan and presented before the marshal of the Sejm a draft resolution in this matter together with six addenda, two of which will form the anti-inflation and savings programs. On 22 March this year the draft plan received its first reading, after which the draft was presented to the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances for examination together with the opinions of the appropriate Sejm commissions. The draft was also submitted for approval by the Socioeconomic Council. With the authorization of the Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, I have the honor of informing the chamber about how the draft plan was examined inside commissions and intercommissions teams, and the honor of presenting the commission's stance in this matter.

Work on examining the 3-year plan was organized in such a way as to give the draft as full an assessment as possible. Individual Sejm commissions examined those extracts of the plan which fell within their scope, and presented their comments and opinions on these extracts.

Next, these opinions and conclusions were the subject of work by intercommission teams. Government representatives and Sejm advisers also took part in this work. It was essential to work like this because some commissions decided that there was a range of controversial issues demanding explanation. In this way, the prepared material was examined during the talks of the Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, with the participation of representatives from the remaining Sejm commission and intercommission teams.

A Meritorious Appraisal of the Draft

A meriotirous appraisal of the draft plan was made during discussions, and an investigation was made to see whether the draft conforms to the planning law. During the debate, the comments and remarks of various social circles which had been publicized by the press were made use of; the press had devoted a lot of space to this subject matter.

As a result of the joint work that had been carried out and taking into consideration the opinions of the Legislative Work Commission and the Sejm Chancellery, one single document was worked out and presented before the chamber in place of the preliminary draft Sehm resolution for the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985 and its six addenda. This document covers current conditions, the 3-year plan's basic goals, and information for the people's councils and for enterprises. In this way, the entire Sejm resolution on the 3-year plan is meant to be available to wide sections of society by being published.

To this document have been added a list of central investment projects and a list of those projects which may be commenced after 1985 and are contained right now in a list of reserve projects. In addition, it was decided to present the Sejm with a draft resolution relating to the government anti-inflation and savings programs which approves of these programs' goals and regards them as correct. The implementation of these programs will be important for attaining the goals set out in the plan. The present draft Sejm resolution on the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985 takes into consideration the results of the debates by Sejm commissions and problems teams, as well as the current socioeconomic situation. As far as the conditions behind this plan are concerned, the plan takes into account the following:

-- the deep disequilibrium in the economy, expressed by the lack of proportion between society's needs and the possibilities for satisfying these needs;

-- the drop in the use of production potential and the drop in productivity, with a resulting drop in production extent and quality, all of this being caused by the crisis;

-- the fact that the national income is burdened with debts carried over from previous years;

-- the growing difficulties with meeting the demand for materials and energy, especially imported materials and energy;

-- reduced possibilities in the coming years for undertaking large investment projects which would enable production to be restructured.

It is envisaged in the plan that state economic policy should aim to overcome the barriers to the country's development.

With the aim of restoring general economic equilibrium, the solutions contained in the plan are meant to:

-- first, ensure that the nation is fed by intensifying agriculture and food production;

-- second, extend housing construction as much as possible;

-- third, improve the population's supply of goods essential for everyday purposes;

-- fourth, continue the state's functions of care by protecting those groups of people in the most difficult material situation against the effects of the crisis.

Investment Outlay

In accordance with the resolution of the joint PZPR Central Committee and ZSL Supreme Committee Plenum, the draft plan is allocating 30 percent of total investment outlay to the food economy.

It has also been agreed that supplies of production resources to agriculture and the food economy in 1985 will rise by at least 20 percent compared with 1982.

The main item in the planned list of increased supplies for agriculture should be mineral fertilizers, plant protection agents, agricultural equipment, and spare parts for tractors and machines.

As a result of the growth in investment outlay for agricultural development, especially concerning land reclamation and better land utilization, total agricultural output in 1985 should be about 9 percent higher than it was in 1982.

This should make it possible to procure at least 5 million tons of grain in 1985, retain the present supply of meat to the population, and improve the supply of grain products, dairy products, fats, sugar, vegetables and fruits.

It is also presumed that our negative trade balance with agricultural produce with countries in the second payments area should drop to Z40 billion in 1985 from Z60 billion in 1982.

The plan also presumes that 30 percent of total investment outlay will be allocated to housing construction and to the development of the food economy.

This should make it possible to build about 530,000-590,000 apartments in the year 1983-1985. The more we succeed in lowering building costs per square meter of housing accomodation, the more apartments we will be able to build, because more than 30 percent of investment outlay cannot be allocated to housing construction. It is reckoned that building costs can be reduced by at least 10 percent.

It is planned that the construction of private housing will take up about 35 percent of total housing construction, which is 5 points more than in 1982.

It is also foreseen that communal housing construction will be increased and more resources will be allocated for refurnishing and modernizing old accomodations. The plan foresees the allocation of 500,000 gardening allotments for housing being constructed privately and by plants.

In order to improve people's supply of market goods and restore market equilibrium, supplies of market goods and services in 1983-1985 should rise by 24 percent when calculated in fixed prices.

At the same time, trade stockpiles should be partially reestablished to make it possible to sell many goods continually. Supplies of food produce shuld rise by about 9 percent, whereas the supply of other productions will be about 28 percent higher in 1985 than in 1982.

It is estimated that there will be a considerable rise in the supply of knitwear, hosiery, and footwear. We should improve the supply to the market of a range of electrical goods such as washing machines, refrigerators, freezers, sewing machines, as well as furniture and other domestic articles. Increasing the production and supply of goods will mean having to adapt thransportation to suit these requirements. Therefore it is essential to guarantee undertakings that are essentail for an efficient functioning of the railroads and road transportation. The improved supply of goods should stabilize the market situation and at the same time should slowly curb inflation, provided demand is kept within the limits of the possibilities for improving the supply of goods and services to the market.

It is presumed that the population's nominal income will grow by 45-50 percent during the 3-year period.

This will be the result of the motivational wage system during the planned growth in production, and also the result of a wage policy which recognizes an average wage for people in production and other occupations, including those in budgetary units. Increases in social benefits and the revaluation of people's savings in accounts are also taken into account. In this situation, it will only be possible to maintain equilibrium if the planned growth in production and productivity is achieved and production costs are cut.

It would be impossible to curb inflation and achieve progress in stabilizing our market situation without consistently implementing these principles. One should remember here that there will be an estimated growth in employment in the national economy by 100,000-110,000 people in 1983-1985.

The stabilization of the prices of goods and services should make the incomes of part of the population more equal, which will also be achieved by an increase in the amount of services available and an increase in the amount of money people have at their disposal.

It is estimated that prices will rise by an average of about 10 percent per year in 1984 and 1985. Prices will only be raised where necessary. The rate of this rise will depend on the results of the anti-inflation and savings programs.

Balancing Out Supply and Demand

As a result of all this activity, we should achieve progress in balancing out supply and demand on the domestic market, and if the implementation of the plan proceeds favorably, we should achieve a small rise in real wages by the end of 1985.

Assuming it is possible to increase supplies of materials to industry and increase industry's potential, it is estimated that industrial output will rise by about 14-16 percent by 1985 provided that appropriate savings in materials are made.

At the same time, important changes will take place in the structure of production, for the sake of increasing the quantity of goods for the domestic market and for exports. These changes will be made while restricting the use of investment goods in production. It is essential to clearly improve production quality and also increase the use of local raw materials and byproducts, and to develop the production of goods which help achieve technological progress. One should expect initiatives and support for these undertakings on the part of scientific circles and scientific research bases. Scientific and research work shaped to the country's economic needs occupies a prominent place in the plan.

It is estimated that the national income in 1985 will be about 10-12 percent higher than in 1982. A basic condition behind achieving this growth is to raise production and make management more efficient. This should be expressed by lowering costs and making better use of materials.

The plan incorporates the principle that consumption should be protected when distributing the national income. That is why the level of investments in the national economy toward the end of the 3-year period has been fixed at only 5 percent higher than today. At the same time, the individual consumption fund calculated in fixed prices will rise by about 9-14 percent during this period, and the group consumption fund will rise by about 8 percent.

These proposals coincide with the opinions presented by deputies and work forces. It is not possible to allocate a greater part of the national income for individual consumption at the expense of the group consumption fund. After all, group consumption comprises expenditure on education, upbringing, and health protection.

Taking into account the country's demographic situation and the resultant need to implement a health protection and education program, it is necessary to reserve resources for this program.

In health protection, the most important task is to improve the material base of medical services. It is foreseen in this connection that the number of beds in hospitals and social care homes will rise. The draft plan foresees an improvement in the supply of drugs to people. It is estimated that supplies of these will rise by over 8 percent in 1985.

In education and upbringing, the basic problem is to guarantee school places for children, of whom there will be 8 percent more in 1985.

In culture and art, an important task is to increase the production of books from 174 million copies in 1982 to about 227 million in 1985.

In foreign trade, the draft plan foresees a development of trade and cooperation with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. In this way, our dependence on imports of materials and technology from the capitalist countries should be reduced. It is foreseen that imports of investment goods from countries in the second payments area in 1983-1985 will be maintained at the 1982 level.

A Growth in Exports and Changes in Exports

A basic task of foreign trade in the 3-year period is to increase exports as much as possible and change its goals. It is estimated that exports in 1985 will occupy 23.4 percent of the national income compared to 22 percent in 1982. The growth in exports and the extra foreign currency reserves gained as a result should enable us to import materials in order to make better use of the national economy's production potential and raise production. These foreign currency reserves will also pay the interest on our foreign debts.

In accordance with the principles of monetary and credit policy, the credit plan should be balanced out in 1985. It is estimated that bank credits will be used to finance 47 percent of the needs of socialized enterprises in 1985, compared to 57 percent in 1982. It is reckoned that there will be a growth in credits for the unsocialized economy, mainly for private farms and households, and above all for private housing construction. The growth in the issue of liquid money may not exceed Z150 billion in 1985. This amount will be about 3 percent of the population's income in 1985, compared to 6 percent in 1982.

The draft plan which has been presented to the chamber assumes that central investments in 1983 through 1985 will have a maximum value of Z624 billion, calculated in 1982 prices.

The Implementation of Socioeconomic Policy

In Chapter 3 of the draft Sejm resolution on the National Socioeconomic Plan for the years 1983-1985, the resources for implementing socioeconomic policy have been mentioned. These resources should ensure the following:

-- that the income of economic units and people strictly depends on a growth in production and productivity and on a reduction in costs;

-- that materials are used rationally, that the consumption of fuel, energy, and materials per unit of production is reduced, and that national raw materials as well as waste products and byproducts are better used;

-- that there is a growth in the production of goods for the domestic market and exports, and that the quality of these goods improves;

-- that better organization and modernization is encouraged in units of the socialized economy;

-- that monetary and market equilibrium is established.

The draft law foresees that the goals which have been mapped out should be achieved by means of the principles of economic reform, mainly with the help of funds from the financial and credit policies and by means of improvements made in the general norms and standards of procedure which are specified in these principles. These activities will be supported by the implementation of the anti-inflation and savings programs.

The financial policy and banks' credit policies should aim to create a situation in which access to money is difficult for enterprises and of course the public. To accelerate structural changes in production, an energetic credit policy will be applied together with relief on income taxes, thanks to the implementation of investment projects which help save fuels and materials and which ensure a profitable growth in production to curb imports. These aims will also be provided for by the government order system and the system for the distribution of certain materials which are in short supply. This system will be extended for 1984-1985. We anticipate making a stern analysis of unjustified expenses and losses together with appraisals of the financial results of socialized enterprises. We expect to improve the system of turnover and income taxes imposed on handicrafts, private trade, and services. The newly revised equalizing tax should regulate incomes. Taxation of farms will be fundamentally reformed by the introduction of an integrated agricultural tax.

Forming Prices

The policy of forming prices will aim at limiting budget subsidies and gradually eliminating them. Budget subsidies should promote an improvement in management efficiency, and their size and composition will be subject to a penetrating analysis.

A faster growth of income in relation to expenses will allow for the complete elimination of the state's budget deficit by 1985. The draft law which was presented to the Sejm on the 3-year plan contains an authorization enabling the Council of Ministers to detail the ways in which the National Socioeconomic Plan will be implemented from 1983-1985 in relation to the centralized annual plans. It has also been suggested that the High Chamber obligate the Council of Ministers to present its proposals by 30 June on essential changes in regulations for the implementation of the National Socioeconomic Plan from 1983-1985 as well as to present its principles on taxation policy in relation to the unsocialized economy and the public during the first 6 months of 1983, and to present the assumptions of its price policy for 1985 by 1 September.

The opinions of individual Sejm commissions and the Socioeconomic Council as well as the Sejm's advisers conform with the positive appraisal of the aims and tasks contained in the draft National Socioeconomic Plan and the activities proposed in the anti-inflation and savings programs. However, during the deputies' working debates at the session of the Commission for Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance, certain deputies expressed concern over the effectiveness of the resources mentioned in the draft plan which are to ensure its implementation.

Many remarks and doubts were also voiced concerning the proposed measures for economic activity. Some of the proposals for the anti-inflation and savings programs, in the opinion of the deputies, need adjustment. Attention was particularly drawn to the fact that the anti-inflation program contains many general expressions and slogans which do not inspire the conviction that it sufficiently guarantees the goals mapped out in the draft plan and do not give a fuller explanation of the aims contained in these expressions. By conveying the reports and feelings expressed during the deputies' debate, which was characterized by a sense of concern and involvement, I would like to throw some light on a few select issues.

The deputies in the Education and Health Commission criticized the proposal to freeze wages in budgetary units, justifying this with both the commitments of the Teachers' Charter as well as the low level of wages in the health service. Instead, they indicated there was a need for a further check on state administration employment. Ministers from the Intercommission Team for Economic Reform questioned the purpose of defining unjustified costs in the price-fixing process and drew attention to the need to transfer part of the overestimated value of the fixed assets of enterprises to the central accounts. It was suggested that these sums should eventually be absorbed by the budget in the form of a tax.

The need to consider the effects of increasing deposits on apartments was raised and attention was drawn to the fact that this could restrict some workers' chances of benefiting from cooperative housing, especially those with lower incomes.

Doubt was expressed as to whether indicating where compulsory material savings are to be made conforms to economic reform. It was recognized that the introduction of a once-only tax or benefit in the form of a so-called levy was incorrect. It was suggested that a low level of income tax be established by means of an equalizing tax, while in the meantime the tax on high incomes should rise progressively. These are a few of the remarks which were made. A particularly animated deputies' debate centered on the choice of solutions to inflationary phenomena. The prevailing view, also reflected in the committee's position, is that it is necessary to consistently implement the program of anti-inflation activities and at the same time to avoid measures which would decrease the motivating functions of wages or narrow the scope of social benefits obtained by different professional or social groups.

The commission supports liquidating the effects of the crisis and aims at the honest implementation, wherever possible, of every duty of a social nature, concentrating every effort to increase production, introduce the austerity regime at every step, improve supplies to the public and gradually consolidate stabilizing processes in the economic sphere.

The views of the Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances were very similar to some of those formulated by the anti-inflation program, and the commission accepted the need to amend some of the proposals made in the savings program. The results of the social consultations on these matters were also taken into consideration, and this was expressed in the modified program handed around to citizen deputies.

The Draft of the National Socioeconomic Plan Conforms With Principles

Following a searching analysis, a wide-ranging discussion, and the introduction of amendments, the Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances recognized that the draft of the National Socioeconomic Plan as presented to the High Chamber and the results of the Sejm commissions' work and cooperation with the government correspond to the principles contained in the second variant of the plan approved by the Sejm. It also corresponds to the contents of the law of 26 February 1982 on socioeconomic planning. It is for this reason that I move, on the authority of the Sejm Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, to draft the Sejm resolution of the Polish People's Republic on the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985 in its present version.

I would at the same time like to move that the resolution approving the basic goals of activity in this area is adopted, considering the fact there is a need to view the anti-inflation and savings programs as correct, but nevertheless remain open to further initiative and activities.

Our belief that we have chosen the right solutions from the draft plan has been confirmed by the economic results we obtained during the first quarter of 1983 and the outcome of the social consultations which brought many valuable initiatives and opinions from all sorts of professional and social circles, as well as by the great commitment of working people to cooperation while this plan was being outlined. However, the best planning solutions worked out with the best of intentions do not ensure that the goals in the plan will be reached without great effort and support from the community and working people. This is why, when requesting the High Chamber to adopt the forementioned motions for the National Socioeconomic Plan as well as the anti-inflation and savings programs, the Commission of Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances acts in the belief that the joint efforts of government and people will ensure the successful implementation of the important tasks contained in the draft plan for 1983-1985 and that this is the best road to healing our economy and raising the standard of living.

Jablonski Addresses Sejm

AU031325 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 3

[Speech by Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski at the 28 April Sejm session in Warsaw -- "Work in the Humanistic System of Values"]

[Text] Citizen Marshal: May it please the Sejm:

Article 19 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic states that:

1. Work is a right, a duty, and matter of honor for every citizen. It is through their own work, the observation of work discipline, competition and the improvement of its methods that the working people of towns and villages consolidate the strength and force of the fatherland, increase the prosperity of the nation, and accelerate the total implementation of the socialist system.

2. The pioneers and veterans of work are surrounded by the general respect of the people.

3. The Polish People's Republic is implementing the principle "Each should give according to his capabilities, each will receive according to his work" more and more fully.

I have taken the liberty of quoting the entire text of this particular article although I know, of course, that it is known to each of us. However, it is one of the terms contained in the highest legal act of the PPR, which is of fundamental significance to the PPR and defines the ideological nature of our system, making the basic law a constitution for not only the state but also for society. It is for this reason that all considerations over the methods, conditions, and ways of implementing this law, which is both a duty and an honor, must be based on the letter and spirit of this article. None of the features which contribute to the definition of the role of work in the life of individuals, society, and the state can be overlooked.

Productive and Secure Work at Every Position

In this way, our Constitution directly relates to the most progressive stream of human thinking which correctly appraised the significance of work for human activity and placed it especially high in the humanistic system of values. I am referring to the ideals of many generations of fighting warriors who used the words of "Warszawianka" about the "Triumph of work -- justice."

Truth is documented in this way -- the people who are building socialism are not only the moral successors of the humanistic ideas which were created in preceding eras, they are their implementors.

I have dwelt for so long on the ideological assumptions of the labor problem in our country, since these assumptions explain the complexity of the problem, the need for a multilateral approach to the subject, and the fact that it is imperative to find a solution -- as has rightly been raised during discussions over the draft law -- at three levels simultaneously, the legal organizational level, the productive-technological level, and the social one. This is also why the bodies of the authorities and of state administration on various levels, such as economic institutions, the managements of enterprises and social organizations representing the interests of working people must be involved when the conditions of work are being established in accordance with these ideological assumptions. All the above-mentioned must keep in mind the socialist and humanist nature of our system and strive to harmonize the interests of the community with those of the individual. And so, for example, we all want our work productivity to constantly rise, our work to be more efficient and the quality and quantity of the goods we produce to rise as much as possible. But we are also, to no lesser degree, all very concerned that this work be as safe as possible and that the dangers which a worker may be exposed to are reduced to a minimum so that all the existing possibilities are exploited to the full.

These prerequisites were the basis of the 4 February 1959 law on the social inspection of labor, which created the framework of the trade unions. In this way, the control over implementing the socialist law of labor and over work health and safety has been placed in the hands of the workers themselves. The contributions of the great masses of social trade union activists in this area are undeniable and we cannot forget their generous and exceedingly positive activities when publishing the draft of the new law on the Social Inspection of Labor, because the good experiences of these activists must be fully exploited in these new conditions.

The Extent of the Tasks Before the State Inspectorate of Work

These new conditions were, above all, created by the State Inspectorate of Labor which was set up by the law of 6 March 1981. Its tasks are particularly extensive, so that I will only briefly remind you of a few of them:

They are the supervision and control of the way in which the plants observe the law of work, particularly the regulations and principles for health and safety at work, labor relations, salaries, social benefits, and the protection of the work of women, adolescents, and disabled persons -- in a nutshell, anything which concerns the observance of the law in plants that are already in operation. But the duties of the State Inspectorate must control whether draft plans for building, extending or modernizing plants are in keeping with work health and safety regulations and if existing or planned machine fixtures and fittings and other equipment or the chosen technology meets the health and safety regulations. The inspectorate shuld use a broad comparative base from which to examine the causes behind accidents, illnesses, and dangers. It should promote research work in the areas which encompass its field of interests, support the pursuit of technologies and methods of producing work tools which are not only productive but are in keeping with the principles of ergonomics and save the strength and health of the worker.

These are only a few from a long list of the tasks of the State Inspectorate of Labor, all of which serve to ensure the proper evolution of working conditions in our socialist state. This exists side by side with the normal business in work plants where internal relations may differ, where the law is observed in various ways and where a different approach is taken to the issues of occupational health and safety by both the plants' managing bodies and the workers themselves. These are issues whose social value cannot be overestimated. We partly analyzed these issues at a session of the Council of State on 21 April. It was a partial analysis because we approached it only from the side which was the most convenient statistically and from the most painful viewpoint -- namely, from the number of accidents at work. But this is enough to visualize the extent of the threat to society.

In 1982 some 223,000 accidents at work were recorded in all sectors of the socialized economy and 1,203 of these were fatal.

These are numbers which cannot be calmly passed over. It is true that we are receiving more honest statistics, and they show no upward trend in the number of accidents, particularly serious ones. But this is too little, much too little, to put our minds at rest. Moreover, the numbers cited do not give us the whole picture of the threats to the workers' health, their excessive and unnecessary toil or the effects of poor safety and health conditions at work which only show up after a long time. The state authorities have drawn similar conclusions. However, we must realize that the decisions of the Government Presidium which oblige organizations to step up their activities to eliminate dangers, the increase in funds for investment and modernizations which are essential to improve work conditons, and the adopted principles for economic reform which enable plant managements to have a much more versatile policy in this respect -- these steps will not automatically solve the problem. Aside from a growth in material funds, we need appropriate social supervision over emerging possibilities and we must observe the binding directive that good management and thriftiness must not mean a deterioration in work conditons. There must be a common awareness that work safety and health depend not only on the attitudes of management or on the good organization of work, but on adequate concern of the workers themselves.

All this leads me to the conclusion that all and even the most advantageous intentions the state authorities have in this field must receive broad support through the active participation of those who are directly involved, since without this they will not live up to expectations. We therefore need a social labor inspection which is understood not only as a form of supervision to ensure that the law is kept, but as an initiative and inspiration in the continued and constantly strengthening humanization of work by improving its conditions and taking care that workers can and want to take advantage of the provisions made for their protection.

We Need the Cooperation of Trade Unions

There can also be no doubt that this inspection must be closely related to the activities of trade unions. They are responsible for the protection of workers' rights in the sphere of professional work, salaries, and social standard of living. The unions are to ensure that plant managements observe their duty to guarantee workers safe and healthy working conditions and participate in preparing their own work plans.

The draft law implements these rights and creates a legal basis for the fulfillment of the role of the trade unions mapped out by the law as the defenders of the dignity, rights and interests of all workers, both those associated in trade unions and those who have remained outside their organizational framework.

Together with the laws on workers' self-management bodies and trade unions, the law on the Social Inspection of Work will therefore become an important feature in the process of consolidating socialist democracy and extending the direct participation of working people and shaping the positive economic and social transformations in our country.

Since an extensive written justification was presented to the Sejm it would be an unnecessary waste time for citizen deputies to consult individual regulations in the draft. I therefore wish only to draw your attention to matters which may need clarification.

Adopting the principle that a social inspection of labor is a trade union institution means that trade union organizations at plants control such an inspection's activities, define its form and carry out elections to appoint social inspectors. Nationwide trade union organizations only specify guidelines to the election statute and detail principles governing the activities of social inspectors.

In plants where workers do not have the right to associate in trade unions, workers councils govern labor inspections.

Such a form is aimed at the closest direct tie possible with the work force it is supposed to serve. It is for this reason that social inspectorates at plant, branch, and group level are to be elected and dismissed by all workers at the plant regardless of union membership. The work forces of over 85 percent of the plants this consultation was carried out in voted in favor of this principle.

A Control for Observing Labor Law Regulations

As compared with former regulations, the draft law considerably expands the rights of social inspection, which is to exercise control over the total observance of labor law regulations, collective employment contracts and regulations on compensation payments for accidents at work. This should raise their authority and scope at the plant.

It is also for this reason that the legal protection given to social inspection at all levels was so broadly conceived.

The draft defines the basic cooperation principles between social inspections and the State Labor Inspection. This is a fundamental matter since linking the efforts of both these bodies is one of the basic guarantees in observing the labor laws which have been adopted by the High Chamber.

And finally, a few words on the unavoidable departure from the principles which will be binding in the long-term.

The need for social labor inspections to begin work as soon as possible is clear and has been strongly emphasized at all the plants which were consulted, therefore, taking into account the fact that trade unions still do not possess structures at above factory level, the draft proposes that the Council of State be authorized once only to specify the guidelines on conducting the first elections to appoint social labor inspectors and to map out the principles of their activities. Plant trade union organizations will in this way be able to implement the terms of the law.

General Support for the Draft Law

May it please the Sejm, in commencing the preparation of this draft law, the Council of State was fully aware of the need to obtain the approval of as many of the people who were directly interested in it as possible. The preliminary draft was therefore published in RZECZPOSPOLITA on 10 January 1983 and in addition there were consultations in 1,154 various kinds of plants. It is difficult to arrive at a precise figure of the number of people who took part in the consultative meetings, but it is worth noting that it appears from the protocols and reports sent in that at least 11,000 took part in the discussion, 6,500 of whom were members of trade unions. Moreover, branch and inter-branch consultations took place as well as some on courses for union activists. We also obtained the opinions of members of the Council for Labor Protection and the Main Administration of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. The readers of RZECZPOSPOLITA sent us many valuable remarks direct.

In consequence, we received full and universal support for the idea of setting up a Social Inspection of Labor from all the materials we collected in this way. We could also make many amendments, improvements, and adjustments which have been mirrored in the proposal presented to the High Chamber.

Esteemed citizens, allow me therefore to express my thanks from this podium to all those who helped the State Council, by taking part in the consultation, to preare a draft which is more mature and has serious improvements for the discussion of the Sejm.

May it please the Sejm, the concept of the protection of labor, which has been implemented since the beginnings of the PPR and which is supported by social initiative and activity, has displayed its fundamentality in full. We now want to enrich this concept and support the activities of state bodies while at the same time giving greater power to those who are the natural spokesmen of the interests of the working people.

The Social Inspectorate of Labor, as run by the trade unions, will help the unions acquire new strength and will enable them to perform their political functions more easily. We can also expect that in possessing such a wide range of powers, the inspectorate will facilitate a more effective exploitation of the economic reform through its order and control activities and will have a systematic influence on the improvement of work and safety organization. This should inspire those who manufacture goods essential to the lives of the people to perform their professional duties more effectively and productively and will therefore bring benefits to all.

With this belief in mind I will ask the Sejm to examine the draft law on the social inspection of labor.

Jablonski on Draft Economic Plan

PM290948 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 13 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio Wladyslaw Jablonski, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, by GLOS ROBOTNICZY correspondent Leszek Rudnicki -- date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] We are all quite familiar by now with the basic propositions of the 3-year economic plan. What stage has work on the plan reached today?

[Answer] Now that we have concluded all the discussion and consultation and chosen the variant on which to base the plan, work is currently being continued in the Sejm commissions, individual section teams, and intercommission bodies which deal with the separate elements of the plan. Under discussion are such questions as investment projects, problems related to employment programs, the entire field of social welfare, and so on. About the middle of the month all the recommendations will be summed up and presented at the sessions of the Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget, and Finances, and the Sejm will then resume its work on the draft again.

[Question] The debate on the draft is taking place outside the Sejm, too. Public consultation is being carried out within particular milieus, and the national meeting of the workers' aktiv has added its own significant voice to the debate.

[Answer] Our Planning Commission is right now working on coordinating all the conclusions arising from this wide-ranging social consultation, and we expect to be able to submit a form of our own amendment to the draft to the Council of Ministers in the middle of the month.

[Question] It could be said that the draft plan is the result of the hard necessity facing our economy. Its visible proof is in the anti-inflationary and austerity programs.

[Answer] These programs constitute an integral part of the plan. They represent that part of the plan which is worked out in more detail and has a more instrumental character, although the plan itself also includes within it instruments for its execution, describing the means and methods of implementing its basic premises. In any case, the plan itself is also an absolute novelty. It was formulated and prepared in a way that was quite unlike all the previously employed methods. That was because it set out to follow closely the directions contained in the Sejm law on planning and also to draw to a large extent on the results of the public consultation -- and so the idea of giving a collective dimension to planning [uspolecznienie planowania] has found its reflection here.

Furthermore, the plan was put together under the conditions of economic reform, and thus that part of the plan which had previously, as it were, constituted its core, is today nothing more than a kind of prognosis. Take, for instance, the whole set of questions concerning the assessment of the volume of production in the individual sectors. These are precisely prognostications, as opposed to directives. The plan is also doubtless an expression of a certain necessity that was dictated by the circumstances of the crisis. In my opinion it is impossible at the moment to construct a more dynamic plan. There are still too many uncertainties, and these also require the application of emergency solutions.

At this point I must add that we will also very soon put two additional documents before the Sejm. The first one concerns emergency plans for agriculture if we are faced with some exceptionally unusual conditions, that is, to use simple terms, a year of bad crops. After all, that would be bound to affect the whole economy. The second document deals with unforeseen developments in our foreign relations -- to put it more specifically, with the capitalist countries.

[Question] The success of the implementation of the anti-inflation and austerity programs will be a decisive factor for the success of the 3-year plan. As was clearly demonstrated during the general meeting of workers' aktivs, in the course of the public consultation the working class gave the government and the party the authority to put these two programs into operation. There is, however, a certain note of apprehension involved in the consultation. This is connected with the realization of the programs, over which, of course, you have no control as planners. It would seem that there is a faulty transmission switch somewhere in the practical application?

[Answer] It is possible that there is much truth in that, although we did make an attempt to safeguard ourselves against it. We were simply planning for such instrumental operations as would fit into the system brought about by the reform, with the aim of making feasible all the propositions of the plan. Doubtless this skepticism has its source also in certain past experiences. After all, the past history of our plans has been quite checkered.

[Question] Pessimists are going to find examples to support their anxieties straight away. Take the question of the administration, for example. On the one hand a lot is being said about the need to make economies and about limiting only the wage fund, and, on the other hand, our administration offices are receiving directions from above on the required limits on the numbers of their staff positions.

[Answer] That is an obvious misunderstanding, and it cannot be allowed to continue. While inflation continues, it is impossible to freeze the wage levels, since all employees would very soon find themselves in a position of extreme disadvantage. The thing is to save on the means, not on the number of job positions, as the latter would hardly bring us any appreciable results. We know all too well that the work of our administration has until now been the object of much criticism. There are now great possibilities for its intensification, and they must be taken up. If our administrative personnel work harder and more effectively at their jobs, then, with the reduced level of employment, they will be able to earn more money. And that is what it is all about.

[Question] The objections raised against the plan are due simply to the fact that there are still too many such misunderstandings about it. Is it really so difficult to work out an efficient mechanism for translating ideas into the language of practice?

[Answer] The whole question is at the same time very important and very difficult. The program is indeed a collection of ideas which must be transformed into some concrete shape. Certain questions need to be regulated through appropriate laws, others through resolutions passed by the Council of Ministers or decisions of the Government Presidium. Yet other subjects need to be tackled by way of information and action confined to particular enterprises. The main thing is to carry it all out smoothly and efficiently. Yet a certain mode of carrying such operations through has by now evolved in this country, requiring a vastly complicated system of coordination between various organizations, institutions, departmental sectors, and similar bodies. And of course the whole process now takes that much longer -- while we know that time is very much of essence here. The delays in implementing certain decisions cost us a great deal every day!

We do indeed need to aim to achieve a situation where that transmission will work in a clear, simple, speedy, and comprehensible fashion. That is still one of our weaker points. There is still one very simple thing that we all need to learn: to prepare simple solutions. We ourselves turn the simplest problems into complicated tangles, and it is precisely because of this that misunderstandings and further complications arise. A lot is being said just at this moment about the French austerity program. Look how clear, simple, and firm their decisions are. This enables them to act speedily -- and it was the socialist government that decided to opt for this solution, even though its position in France is not very strong today and its popularity is bound to fall as a result of this move.

[Question] Let us, however, return to our plan. It proposes some significant changes in the structure of our economy. As we know, the latter is excessively energy- and material-consuming, even compared with the less developed Western countries.

[Answer] That is one of the fundamental problems of our economy today and, in my opinion, it cannot be solved in a definitive manner during this 3-year plan. We must remember that that structure was shaped to its present form over dozens of years and that the one way to change it now would be through the use of the major tool of investment. Even if we only want to alter the production profile of one single factory, we would still have to face a certain amount of expenditure. There are some who think -- somewhat naively -- that it is possible to carry out the restructuring operation through the axing of certain given areas of production which are excessively energy- or material-consuming. Such an approach is not realistic and I do not believe an operation like that would bring any results. In some cases it would mean nothing short of adventurism.

On the other hand, it is possible to carry out the restructuring through the process of internally changing the structure of production in certain specified enterprises. And this is allowed for in the program. If, for example, we want to go for the production of diesel engines for delivery trucks, it will cost us a considerable amount in terms of investment expenditure, but then it will bring its effects in the form of reduced fuel consumption. It is a question of economic calculation of costs and profits.

The possibilities for this type of operation are not too extensive within this 3-year plan, and we should not build up any illusions about it. That is why the austerity program involves two parts: the immediate operations and those which will be effective in the long run. Let us also remember that we are carrying a noose round our necks, in the form of the encumbrance presented by our unfinished investment projects, and if we wished to continue with these we would be only reinforcing and aggravating this unfavorable structure.

[Question] What, then, should be done about them? After all, we are talking about more than 1,600 commenced investment projects, and this includes only those with an estimated cost in excess of Z50 million.

[Answer] We did discuss this problem while working on the plan. Decisions have been issued according to which all the frozen investment projects are to be analyzed again, along with the potential capabilities of the investors and the question of whether a continuation of investment would be advantageous from the viewpoint of the planned change in the structure of production. I have a feeling that only very few among those 1,600 investment projects are going to meet all our requirements. As to the remaining ones -- well, I do understand that what I am saying here may be hard to take for many people and will probably provoke some protest, but...we have to make some hard decisions -- owing largely to their not very advanced stages of development they will simply have to be abandoned.

It is costing us enormous sums each year to maintain and provide security around those already existing installations. In other words, a considerable number of those construction sites should actually be physically dismantled by the end of the year. The installations will have to be pulled down, the materials reconditioned, reused, or sold where possible, and the sites reclaimed and put to appropriate use again. After all, we would never be able to complete these investment projects by 1990 and we simply cannot afford to throw the money away.

[Question] There is one dominant element in all the discussions on the subject. It is the question of social justice and the fact that the adverse effects of the country's emergence from the crisis are carried by those who are in fact doing all the work in pulling the country out of the crisis.

[Answer] As a result of the entire debate, and also of the stand taken by the Politburo even before the national meeting of workers's aktiv and maintained all the more vigorously after that meeting, this very question is given a prominent place in the anti-inflation program. Our own amendment project, which we have already mentioned, will include further elements reflecting that concern. In my opinion some of the issues included in the program will be impossible to defend, since they are either extremely difficult to put into practice or else they need to be reviewed in a different light. This will certainly be the case with the compensatory tax system and, above all, with the base on which the latter should be calculated. But a new approach to this problem is currently being worked out.

There are certain issues which, it would seem, are not so controversial. Take, for instance, color television. This is today, as it turns out, a relatively common commodity; we have some 1.5 million sets in the country. It does not seem appropriate to treat it as a luxury article, to say nothing about the problems that would arise over any attempts at enforcing the payment of such a tax. On the other hand, such obvious -- in my opinion -- things as private recreation plots [dzialki rekreacyjne], dachas, hunting weapons, or larger capacity cars should have a tax imposed on them without delay.

[Question] As one the principal authors of the draft plan, comrade, what do you expect to happen after the plan has been efficiently put into practice?

[Answer] I expect that we will achieve, or, at worst, approach general economic balance. In practical terms, I expect that every person will be able to buy whatever he needs with the money he has earned through his intensive working effort -- and to buy it not in some system of priority and preference, nor through some form of controlled sales, but in a quite simple way...the way it is done in any country maintaining some basic degree of equilibrium.

[Question] In other words, it is not the program of our dreams but one that reflects the necessity of the present day and gives us some prospects for the future?

[Answer] One that gives us a springboard from which to take off now and to continue to develop in the future -- for it is not possible to continue without developing. This plan does not give us a guarantee of development, nor does it pave the way to go back to the state which existed before the crisis. There can be no returns, for we are now in a completely different era, with different standards. It is our aim to find some firm ground under our feet so that we are able to take a more ambitious look at the second half of this decade.

The present time is also for all of us a period of very intensive learning. After all, there are many things that we are introducing for the very first time and we often have to experiment and to introduce corrections in midflight since life will not stop to wait for us. It is we who must learn and adjust to many of life's realities. Everything is in our hands and it is up to us to determine the shape of our tomorrow.

PRESS REPORTS URBAN, LOPATKA PRESS CONFERENCE

AU061245 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 May 83 pp 1, 5

[Jerzy Gonczarski report: "Press Conference for Foreign Journalists"]

[Excerpt] A press conference for foreign journalists took place at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 3 May. Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the Office for Religious Affairs, and Jerzy Urban, government press spokesman, answered correspondents' questions.

Adam Lopatka presented information on religious relations in Poland. He said that the situation between the state and non-Roman Catholic denominations is completely normal. Normalization between the state and the Roman Catholic Church is progressing. There are certain problems of a political nature concerning the activity of the Dominicans and one of the two chapters of Jesuits. Speaking about progress with the normalization of relations between the state and the church, A. Lopatka stated that this progress is considerable. "Here I mean normalization, if one can call it that, on the line Ujazdowska Street [where the government offices in Warsaw are] and Miodowa Street [where the seat of the primate is] and on the line Warsaw - the "Vatican." A. Lopatka referred at the same time to the positive assessment of this situation made by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski during his interview for the Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG at the beginning of February. "This assessment is more justified today," the minister said.

A. Lopatka pointed out that there are of course people in Poland, and mainly in the West, who are very worried about this improvement and normalization of relations between the church and the state. The fact that the pope's visit is materializing shows that these relations are good. There exists a general expectation, both by the government and by the episcopate, as well as by the Vatican, that this visit will be a step toward further improving these relations.

Next, the journalists were informed that the program for the pope's visit to Poland had already been established, and so have the organizational details of the visit. All that is left is to settle are some technical features of the visit, and these will mainly be settled at the regional level, although there are some matters which will be decided at the central level. There are also issues which have to be settled with Vatican specialists who deal with the pope's security. The difficulties that emerge here and there during the preparations are being cleared up relatively easily, Minister A. Lopatka said, because there is a will on both sides to reach essential agreements.

Speaking about the costs of the pope's stay in Poland, the minister said that the costs will partly be borne by the government and partly by the church, in other words, by believers. The government will bear the costs involved with the pope's travel, security, protecting the health of those taking part in gatherings, and sanitary costs. These costs will be considerable, A. Lopatka added, but at the same time there is the intention on both sides to minimize them, to reduce them to essential costs and not make them exhorbitant, because we are in an economic crisis.

The head of the Office for Religious Affairs said that coverage of the pope's visit to Poland, including radio and TV coverage, will be guaranteed. A. Lopatka stressed that the incidents and scuffles which occurred in some places on 1 May will influence neither the pope's arrival in Poland itself nor the preparations for this arrival. If regrettable incidents were to occur during the visit, they would certainly have no important influence on the course of the visit and on its positive results.

Immediately after this introduction, A. Lopatka replied to journalists' questions.

[Question] Will the homilies and other speeches which the pope makes during his visit in Poland be subject to state censorship? (from a representative of the Polish emigre press in the United States)

[Answer] I am rather surprised by this question, but the answer is no. For the pope's arrival in Poland contains two aspects -- he has been invited by the authorities of the Polish People's Republic as the head of the Vatican state, and at the same time he is coming as the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church. It is an international custom that as far as official exchanges of speeches between state representatives are concerned, both sides mutually acquaint each other with what is going to be said so that their speeches or statements do not diverge. I think this will also be the case with the pope's visit concerning at least three speeches that the pope will make when he arrives, when he departs, and when eventually he meets the state leadership. As far as the other speeches by the pope are concerned, of which 12 are foreseen, these will be religious in nature, and as we know there exists a division between church and state in Poland, and the state is not interested in the contents of religious ceremonies. And the homilies which the pope will make must be regarded in this context.

[Question] Could you confirm whether the pope wrote a letter to State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski, in which he asks for an amnesty? (from the Spanish paper LA VANGUARDIA)

[Answer] The pope has of course replied to the invitation extended to him by Henryk Jablonski. This letter expresses the pope's satisfaction at having been invited and it also contains a request to the Polish authorities to declare an amnesty. The State Council chairman will probably answer this letter and one can assume that both letters will be published when the appropriate agreements between the authors of the letters have been reached.

[Question] Has the pope confirmed in this letter that he is ready to come to Poland in June?

[Answer] Yes. And I will also add what is probably a subtitle to your question, namely that the request to declare an amnesty is not a condition which he pope is making in connection with his arrival, but it is a request which he took the opportunity to make when writing his letter.

[Question] Does the still valid idea that Lech Walesa is a private person mean that the state authorities will not share his view concerning a possible meeting between him and the pope? (from the FINANCIAL TIMES).

[Answer] The first thing that might concern us is whether the pope has the intention and desire to meet Walesa, and whether Walesa wants to meet the pope. Neither of them have given any information enabling me to say something on this subject. I can only say that the program which has been arranged for the pope's visit does not foresee such a meeting.

[Question] There are rumors that the pope is meant to have some free time during the last day of his visit. Could you tell me how he will spend this time? (from LE FIGARO)

[Answer] Indeed such a private moment during his visit is foreseen, but privacy depends on no one saying anything about such moments. I think that you as a newspaper representative who respects privacy will forgive me if I do not answer this question.

[Question] Because people will have to be traveling to these places where the pope will be celebrating mass, are the authorities planning any concessions, such as days off from work? (from the Spanish agency EFE)

[Answer] I can assure you that all essential concessions will be made, but I do not foresee us not working during the pope's visit. However, it is not out of the question that in those places which the pope visits, the local authorities and factory managements will enable people to make up for hours which have been granted at another time.

After the round of questions addressed to Minister Adam Lopatka, the rest of the conference was devoted to current events. Government press spokesman Jerzy Urban related the contents of the letter which President Ronald Reagan addressed to the participants in the Washington rally for Solidarity.

J. Urban said: According to the UPI agency, about 50 people gathered in the rally. I would like to say that we do not consider this size gathering a rally in Poland, and despite the economic difficulties we are experiencing, even private parties gather more people than this. I am saying this because the American President wrote in the letter that the future of Poland and of free trade unions is a subject of concern by your presence here today. [refers to Reagan's words] Further on in his letter, President Reagan laments the fact that the Polish economy is lying in ruins. I would like to comment as follows: This is a sign of political cyncism by the head of a government who initiated the economic sanctions against Poland. President Reagan also said in his letter that the Polish nation has revealed the fundamental inequalities inherent in the communist system." There are of course many things the United States can boast about, but I strongly doubt whether they can boast about social equality.

Next, J. Urban said: The President of the United States is continuing to interfere in Poland's domestic policy and is giving this a final tone. This does not augur well for the future of Polish-American relations. At the previously mentioned rally in Washington, Richard Davies, U.S. ambassador to Poland, also spoke. We remember him as a distinguished diplomat. Ambassador Davies described the Polish Government as a "Jaruzelski-Rakowski clique." This is odd, since he used to conduct himself properly while fulfilling his mission in Poland, but one can see how some American diplomats are capable of changing their tone once they have taken off their cloak. Davies accused Reagan of cooperating with the Polish Government and of giving it silent aid. I believe it would be better for Poland if President Reagan did not give us this "aid." Further on, Mr Davies demands that all contacts with Poland be cut off by the United States. When he was fulfilling his mission in Warsaw, he described his mission as a tightening of contacts. Perhaps he was praising the policy of the team which accredited him to us in the seventies. In any case these are events which indicate a growth of hysterical and unrealisitc political tones in the United States toward Poland.

Referring to the Washington administration's interest in Lech Walesa, the government spokesman said: It is amazing that during the past few weeks, either a State Department spokesman or a White House spokesman has voiced protests on various issues connected with Walesa. They protest that Walesa has been summoned to give evidence on fiscal matters, and another protest is because of the fact that Walesa's wife is dealing with customs formalities connected with importing a car. The U.S. authorities seem to regard it their duty to comment on every event in the life of Walesa. Recently, a State Department spokesman said that he is pleased with the fact that Walesa has resumed work. I have said several times during these press conferences that Lech Walesa is regarded as a private person. However, he is such a private person that he plays some kind of role, apparently an eminent role, in U.S. policy toward Poland. It is quite clear that Walesa is a person who is being utilized by the U.S. Government in its anti-Polish policy and that the U.S. Government is trying to raise his importance. The Western press also contains speculations about a kind of national accord based on a dialogue of "three" -- General Jaruzelski, Primate Glemp, and Lech Walesa -- which refers back to the events of 4 November, 1981 when such a meeting took place. Walesa also tells Western journalists that he would like to play some political role and he feels like a potential partner of the authorities. I believe there should be no misunderstanding here. I can add to what Deputy Premier Rakowski has said in Nowa Huta that Walesa did not want to begin partner-like cooperation with the Polish authorities in 1981. Despite many appeals, he lost his chance, and the chance of Solidarity, which as it then existed, did not want national accord, and as a result of the chain of events which later followed, he became a has-been on the Polish political scene. His own policy and attitude brought this about. Walesa will not become a partner of the Polish authorities and inflating this figure artificially is quite simply unrealistic and senseless.

MADEJ INTERVIEWED ON TRADE RELATIONS, DEBTS

AU090658 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 May 83 p 3

[Tomasz Bartoszewicz interview with Zbigniew Madej, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, "Poland's Place in the World"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Could I ask you for a general picture of Poland's economic relations with other countries?

[Answer] Only a few years ago journalists and politicians were only too keen to quote figures showing Poland's place in the world. This is no longer done today although the facts remain the same. We still maintain a good position in coal and we are leading in world coal production; we are in second place in the production of sulfur and fifth in sugar beets.

Our position, however, has deteriorated in corn, meat, car, and electrical goods production. Our contribution to world exports amounted to 1.1 percent in 1970, putting us in 16th place in the world; however, in 1981 our contribution fell by 0.7 percent and we fell to 33d position. We have drawn some practical conclusions from this and must increase our turnover with other countries, as well as restructure it.

In shaping our economic ties with the outside world we differentiate between three systems in our trade contacts: socialist countries, developing countries, and developed capitalist countries. We maintain diplomatic relations, as you know, with states belonging to all three groups, although our political relations with certain developed capitalist countries have recently suffered a considerable deterioration.

As far as economic relations are concerned, our imports from socialist countries comprised 46 percent of our total imports in only the mid-seventies. In 1980 this was estimated at 55-56 percent, and in 1982 it was about 63 percent. Of our total imports, our imports from developed capitalist countries were about 50 percent in 1975, 35 percent in 1980, and 28-29 percent in 1982.

In the space of these 7 years, therefore, a basic change took place in the amounts we were sending to various customers. Above all this was caused by cuts in credits from abroad which dominated the seventies. The fall in imports from developing capitalist countries in 1982, compared to 1980, was as much as 42 percent. Such a fall has not been noted in the entire post-war economic history of Europe. An almost automatic shift of emphasis therefore took place in favor of closer ties with socialist countries.

[Question] Our strategy is therefore aimed at cooperating with CEMA countries. But we do, after all, owe debts to capitalist countries, and the only way we can repay them is to send exports to these countries.

[Answer] The drastic fall in imports from these countries between 1980-1982 was not a fault of ours. It was a direct result of political developments. The system of economic ties with the West, which was set up in the seventies, was dangerous to the economic equilibrium. It also became apparent that when there are political tensions, their credits, technology, and even some commodities like corn can become political weapons.

This does not mean that we want to limit trade with the West, since the interest we earn on this is very similar to what we get from CEMA countries and is still somewhat higher than what we receive from the USSR, Bulgaria, or the CSSR. The entire socialist community which is, after all, a political as well as economic community will still strive from its very nature to direct most of its trade to its own markets. This is the proper course and one resulting from economic and political conditions.

[Question] As far as repaying debts is concerned, does the government currently have a general concept for solving the debt issue?

[Answer] Not only does it have such a concept but it has already put it before the interested parties. We are now undertaking negotiations with the banks which gave us our credits and have put forward new proposals to them. I would not like to pursue this topic further since our partners are also currently showing discretion in this. I will only say that this is a very bold and long-term concept.

Since you mentioned our debts, I must say that the matter is certainly a serious one, but we are not some kind of exception in the world. Yugoslavia, Romania, Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil have similar worries. Every country solves its problems slightly differently. Countries like Mexico or Yugoslavia, for instance, take new credits to cover the old. Poland also pursued such a policy during the late seventies. Other countries look for more thorough and long-term solutions instead.

[Question] What significance does economic cooperation with other countries have for the country's future economic development strategy?

[Answer] This is very important. We expect that since 1982 was the year in which we curbed the fall in production, we should be able to reach our precise level by 1985. The period 1986-1990 is, therefore, expected to be one of balanced development. In order to implement these goals it is imperative that we intensify our ecomomic cooperation with other countries and increase the role played by foreign trade in the national income.

The completed strategy must now be gradually implemented. More honesty is needed above all else in daily work. Our work productivity is scandalously low, being not only lower than that in capitalist countries but lower than that of our CEMA partners. In 1982 one person's contribution to the national economy was $3,500-3,800, while in the United States it was $15,000, in Japan $12,000, in the GDR $9,000, and in Bulgaria $6,000.

In 1978 our work productivity was approaching that of the USSR, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Today, all these countries have overtaken us, and this should force us to consider: Where is our place in the world and where are we going? Our ambitions are after all colossal.

All the government's measures are geared precisely in this direction.

MESSNER VIEWS SELF-MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES

PM040955 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 15 Apr 83 p 3

[Interview with Professor Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Central Committee Representative and Self-Governing Bodies Commission, by Slawomir Nadloneka -- date, place not given; footnote carried at end of item states that the text is "unauthorized"]

[Excerpt] [Question] Comrade Professor, what concrete problems are the subject of the work of the commission over which you preside?

[Answer] The PZPR Central Committee's Representative and Self-Governing Bodies Commission deals with all the questions which arise as a result of the implementation of a broadly understood system of self-government and self-management. One of our main interests, for instance, is the work of people's councils -- the latter being an example of a representative organ. But we deal with other bodies, too. Recently, for example, we had a visiting session at the Chorzow Nitrogen Plant, where we discussed the problems of workers' self-management, its past experience, and its goals and shortcomings. Today in Lublin the subject of our debate is all that concerns self-government within housing cooperatives and among housing cooperatives' residents. In other words, we are interested in everything that concerns the self-government and self-management movement in Poland.

[Question] What is the commission's assessment of the way self-governing and self-management bodies are operating at the present moment and of their degree of genuine involvement in solving the problems present in their own environment, their region and throughout the country?

[Answer] It is difficult to produce an unequivocal answer to your question. The effectiveness of the work of any self-governing body depends on the degree of personal and civic responsibility of its members. This tends to vary with different milieus and different regions. Self-government and self-management bodies function along very different lines in production plants, enterprises, and housing cooperatives. We have numerous examples of those bodies performing their function very well, and also of some that do not reach their goals.

[Question] Can we afford -- while the country is still steeped in a profound economic crisis -- to go on expanding the system of self-government and self-management to extravagant proportions? One often hears the opinion that such excessive autonomy is by no means conducive to getting the country out of the crisis, but rather, does precisely the opposite.

[Answer] There can be no doubt that democracy cannot be allowed to lead to anarchy. We have seen it happen before and we know the outcome. Democracy must strengthen the structures of a socialist country, not destroy them. It must fortify the economy, not incapacitate it. Democracy understood solely in terms of the individual doing whatever he wants and however he wants to do it leads to nothing but anarchy. Contrary to what our adversaries maintain, the state of martial law in Poland never halted the process of introducing the reforms -- in fact, it created favorable conditions for implementing them. To say that there is too much democracy in Poland or that there is no democracy at all is to have an oversimplified view of the matter. It seems to me that there is another considerable problem that arises out of our particular circumstances, and that is a sense of discipline and of one's civic duty. And that is why, among other things, the question of party members' participation in self-government and self-management bodies was discussed at today's session of our commission. What does this question involve? It involves the necessity of ensuring that -- acting with full understanding of the general interests of the party and the state -- party members can effectively oppose any particularism since any prominence given to individual interest, although potentially very important from the viewpoint of the group concerned, is disadvantageous from the viewpoint of the general social interest. The operation of implementing the economic reform while at the same time leading the country out of the crisis requires that we all show good discipline, common sense, and consistency.

[Question] What if we are found lacking in discipline and common sense?

[Answer] Personally, I am against the introduction of administrative or restrictive directives. This is because such measures lead to a loss of initiative and the will to act. I believe it is possible to act effectively and to solve all problems by relying on people who are committed, prudent, and responsible.

[Question] The government's anti-inflation program proposes the introduction of a considerable increase in housing cooperatives' initial membership deposit for both the leasehold and the freehold apartments acquired within the cooperative scheme. Has this proposal gained at least some provisional acceptance from the housing cooperatives' self-governing structures?

[Answer] The initiative was anounced only a short while ago, and a debate is currently continuing over this proposal. It is possible that many self-government structures within the housing cooperatives will oppose it, since it is not necessarily concurrent with the best interests of the members of the given cooperative. But when we consider the broadly understood social justification for this proposal, it is reasonable to expect that it will be accepted by the cooperatives.

[Question] According to the relevant decisions, the deadline by which self-management bodies in enterprises were expected to obtain approval from their founding organs for the resumption of their activity expired on 31 March this year. But it still looks as if there was no clear-cut concept of what should be happening next.

[Answer] There has been much misunderstanding concerning workers' self-management bodies, caused -- among other things -- by the fact that they were in many cases controlled by certain "forces" which had set out to pursue their own policies and their own interests within the framework of self-management structures. Those people wanted to apply the principle of "We are not interested in what is taking place in our country or what its needs and problems are; we are only interested in our own interests."

Ever since the state of martial law was introduced we have repeatedly stressed that workers' self-management must and should be developed. That was why the number of self-management bodies resuming their activity continued to grow at a steady rate. After the suspension of martial law there was issued a virtual directive concerning the necessity of preparing self-management bodies for the resumption of their activity by the end of March this year. It is quite likely that not everything has yet been done in this matter.

[Question] What is posing the gravest threat to self-management at this moment?

[Answer] In my opinion, the gravest threat to self-management lies not in any attempts to restrict it by administrative measures but in the state of the so-called sense of internal and civic responsibility of its members. They must continuously sustain their awareness that it is essential, while making decisions that may be very important for their own enterprise or even for the whole milieu, taking into account the interests of society as a whole. The lack of this responsibility may even result -- although we are certainly not planning for this -- in the introduction of administrative restrictions on the activity of a given self-management body in its enterprise.

If, for example, we were to consider only the narrowly interpreted interests of the work forces of individual enterprises in the Katowice Voivodship, then we would have to shut down at least half the enterprises there. But what about the economic consideration? What about the production needed by the country? However, I do not expect self-management bodies to make such decisions. I think this current year is going to be a period of consolidating the experience and the position of self-management structures as well as that of eliminating all the misunderstandings that have already arisen and might still arise. All in all, the prospects opening up for various forms of self-management in our country are considerable.

JARUZELSKI LAYS WREATH AT VICTORY DAY CEREMONY

LD091329 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1205 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] The main event of today's celebrations marking the 38th anniversary of the victory over fascism was a ceremonial changing of the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw's Victory Square. Representatives of the highest authorities, led by Wojiech Jaruzelski, inhabitants of the capital, young people, veterans, soldiers, and participants in the First Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Congress were present.

A gala wreath-laying ceremony at the tomb took place following a 24-gun salute. The first wreath -- interwoven with red and white ribbons, a wreath from the nation -- was laid by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Henryk Jablonski, Jan Dobraczynski, Roman Malinowski, Edward Kowalczyk, Stanislaw Gucwa, and Wlodzimierz Sokorski.

Other wreaths were laid by delegations of diplomatic representatives of the embassies of the Soviet Union, France, the United States, and Great Britain -- member states of the anti-Nazi coalition in World War II.

Members of the highest authorities made an entry in a commemorative book. The ceremony ended with a march-past of units of the Polish Army.

COMMITTEE THANKS CITIZENS FOR MAY DAY EVENTS

LD061848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] The Social Committee for the Celebration of the May Day Holiday in Warsaw has ended its work. At today's session the committee members highly assessed the way in which this year's workers' holiday was marked in the capital, and stressed its clear, unambiguous political message: For socialism -- against opposition; for accord -- against social unrest.

Over 200,000 inhabitants of Warsaw Voivodship participated in the holiday march, significantly more than last year. The view was expressed that the way in which this year's working class holiday was marked demonstrates the political support of Warsaw's citizens for the program of socialist renewal. The Warsaw public did not allow itself to be dragged into the provocations noisily organized by the political underground, and fanned by subversive propaganda centers in the West. The Social Committee for May Day Holiday in Warsaw [as heard] expressed esteem and recognition for the inhabitants of Warsaw Voivodship -- especially for the working class -- for their spontaneous participation in the march and other May Day celebrations, for their mature and sensible political stand.

5,000 ATTEND FUNERAL OF MAY DAY VICTIM

NC061752 Paris AFP in English 1738 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Nowa Huta, Poland, May 6 (AFP) -- Five thousand people waving Solidarity union banners and crying for vengeance gathered in the Greabalow Cemetery here today for the burial of Pyszard Smagur, 29, who was killed in May Day clashes between police and demonstrators.

Mr. Smagur was buried only 100 meters (yards) from the tomb of another earlier victim of the government militia, Bogdan Wlosik. Mr. Wlosik, a 20-year-old worker, was killed last October 13 during a demonstration called by the banned Solidarity trade union.

Mr Smagur's widow, appearing stunned and uncertain, entered the cemetery chapel for the funeral service at 11 a.m. She was accompanied by her late husband's father, mother and brother, as well as by members of her own family. At their arrival, members of the crowd, which maintained absolute silence, raised their hands and made "V" for victory signs with their fingers.

The coffin bore the simple inscription: "Ryszard Smagur, tragically killed May 1, 1983. Born on March 24, 1954." Two huge red-and-white national flags bearing the name of the Solidarity union stood nearby.

Representatives of all the major industries in Nowa Huta, a suburb of Krakow in southern Poland, then entered and placed large floral wreaths at the coffin.

Following a brief religious service, the coffin was taken up and the crowd followed the family to the grave. At the moment the coffin was lowered into the earth, onlookers raised their arms, make the "V" sign again and shouted various slogans, including "We will win," "Solidarity" and "We are Poland." The sound swelled as a helicopter flew low over the cemetery.

A Solidarity banner was fixed to the grave's two-meter (6.5-foot) metal cross and another was planted in the earth covering the coffin. Flowers and wreaths were laid on the grave until the cross marker was virtually buried.

The crowd sang the traditional "God Save Poland" and the national anthem "Poland Will Not Perish as Long as We live." And then the victim's father quietly thanked those present for attending the ceremony. "I ask you to return calmly to your homes," he said said, adding, "I hope the tragedy that has struck our family will never again be repeated."

At that moment, many members of the crowd shouted: "We will avenge him."

Young Smagur was struck in the neck by a tear-gas grenade during the May Day demonstrations here, part of numerous marches staged throughout the country at the call of clandestine Solidarity leaders. The projectile severed an artery and Mr. Smagur bled to death in the street.

Police were present in the vicinity of the cemetery today but they remained out of sight of the mourners.

GLEMP SPEAKS IN KRAKOW ON 'CREATIVE PEACE'

LD081756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] In keeping with an over 700-years-old tradition, religious ceremonies devoted to St Stanislaw were held in Krakow today. Primate Jozef Glemp said that the system of principles based on Christian morality, and not on emotions or momentary passions, is the most effective guarantee for protecting human dignity. The church takes part in the defense of the weakest, of those who suffer most, but it acts so as not to divide people but to show to them Christian love. We ask those who want to utilize temples for other than religious purposes not to do so, Jozef Glemp said. Temples serve and should serve the consolidation of peace, the strengthening of faith, and love of one's neighbour. We have embarked on a path of peaceful settlement of conflicts and we want to continue on this path. Today we need good will, understanding, prudence, wisdom, and peace; a creative peace.

FOUR SOLIDARITY ADVISERS RELEASED 8 MAY

NC090838 Paris AFP in English 0834 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Warsaw, May 9 (AFP) -- Four leading advisers to the banned Solidarity union have been released, two days after police arrested them at a meeting with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, family members of one of the advisers said today.

The four, Bronislaw Geremek, 51, a historian, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 56, a personal friend of Pope John Paul II, and lawyers Wladyslaw Silu-Nowicki, 70, and Jan Olszewski, 53, were released shortly before midnight last night, the sources said. They added that it was generally believed that several other union sympathizers arrested at Friday night's meeting had also been released, although this could not be immediately confirmed.

The four Solidarity advisers were arrested in a Warsaw flat, while they were meeting with Mr. Walesa. Western analysts said the stature of those involved in the meeting appeared to suggest that they had been moving to form a united front, although Mr Walesa later said there were no plans to form new unions.

Informed sources said the meeting included Solidarity Union leaders, the heads of the so-called "branch" unions, which are sanctioned by the government, and the teachers' union. All but Mr Walesa were arrested, but Mr Walesa's telephone was cut and surveillance around his Gdansk home was increased.

It was not immediately known today why the four had been detained, or whether they had been warned against further such meetings.

Friday's arrests came as the Soviet publication NEW TIMES [NOVOYE VREMYA] published an article critical of efforts at "normalization" by the deputy prime minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Mr Rakowski is close to Polish military ruler General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and it was believed that Gen Jaruzelski himself was the target of the criticism.

The arrests also came at a time when clandestine union activity had apparently reached a height not seen since unofficial unions were dissolved on October 8, 1982.

Despite Mr Walesa's statement that new clandestine unions were not planned, he termed Friday's meeting "historic" and said: "We proved that trade unionists are capable of reaching an understanding between themselves to resolve the workers' problems."

Participants at the meeting notably drafted a letter urging amnesty for those sentenced under martial law, the right of dismissed workers to return to their jobs and re-establishment of union pluralism.

After the meeting, Mr Walesa was picked up by police and taken home to Gdansk. He complained that the increased surveillance might drive him underground, and warned: "I am not going to be cooped up like a rabbit."

BRIEFS

NEW WEEKLY PUBLISHED -- On 28 April a new social-cultural weekly called TAK I NIE [YES AND NO] appeared for sale in kiosks. It replaces the Katowice publication POGLADY [VIEWS] which appeared until recently. [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 2 AU]

MATERIALS ON VISIT OF PRC'S HU YAOBANG

Further on Ceausescu Talks 6 May

AU061607 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] The official talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, continued at the State Council Palace today. The talks were attended by Romanian and Chinese officials.

During their new round of talks, the two sides continues to brief each other on the concerns of the RCP and the CPC and on achievements attained by the two countries and peoples in socialist construction. At the same time, the two sides discussed questions concerning the development of relations between the RCP and the CPC, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, as well as aspects of current topical international issues and of the communist and workers movement.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reported on the enthusiastic activity carried out by our people -- closely united with the party -- to completely implement the 5-year plan provisions and achieve a new quality of work and life in all fields, to commendably fulfill the 12th congress decisions and those of the party national conference, and to build the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In his turn, Comrade Hu Yaobang presented the enthusiastic work performed by the Chinese People under the party leadership to implement the policy set forth by the CPC congress and to achieve the proposed goal: to turn the country into a powerful socialist country with a modern agriculture, industry and science and with an increasingly improved living standard.

The RCP secretary general and the CPC Central Committee general secretary stressed that the socioeconomic development of the two countries and the successes achieved in socialist construction are a significant contribution to the general cause of socialism, social progress, and peace throughout the world. In examining the development of bilateral relations, the two party leaders greatly appreciated Romanian-Chinese relations which have expanded and developed constantly in the past years in the spirit of the ideas and principles of scientific socialism and on the basis of full equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual advantage, and mutual assistance.

The two sides stressed that a decisive role in the successful development of Romanian-Chinese relations and in constantly deepening them was played by summit contacts and the orientations and understandings concluded on those important occasions. The two sides also stressed the great importance of strengthening cooperation between the RCP and the CPC to expand friendly relations between our countries and peoples.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang reasserted the desire by both sides to deepen even more, in the spirit of truth, mutual esteem, and respect, the cooperation between the two parties and to increase contacts and concultations on questions of common interest, and intensify exchanges of experience in socialist construction, being fully convinced that this will give an impetus to development generally and to Romanian-Chinese relations and will consolidate friendship even more between our peoples.

The RCP secretary general and the CPC Central Committee general secretary expressed the determination of the two parties to act to constantly expand and deepen relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China at a political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural level, and in other fields. They stressed that the important progress achieved in promoting bilateral cooperation and the increased economic potential of our countries create favorable preconditions for expanding the fruitful Romanian-Chinese cooperation even more. The two sides stressed the need to most effectively make use of existing possibilities to intensify production sharing and increase and diversify trade exchanges to the benefit and in the interests of our peoples, of their progress and prosperity, and of building the new system in the two countries.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang stressed that the RCP and CPC -- concerning themselves with the successful construction of socialism in their countries -- also pay particular attention to the development of international events and participate in efforts aimed at constructively solving the complex problems confronting the present-day world. They stressed the concern by their parties and country for the aggravation of the international situation as a result of the imperialist policy of force and diktat, interference in internal affairs, violating the independence of other countries, redividing spheres of influence, maintaining and accentuating a climate of tension and conflicts in various parts of the world, intensifying the arms race, and deepening the economic crisis and the gaps between countries.

The two sides stressed that it is more necessary than ever under the current circumstances for the peoples and the progressive forces everywhere to act in a closely united manner to stop the dangerous trend of events toward confrontation and war and to firmly assert a new policy of cooperation and respect of national independence in the international arena and a policy of detente and peace.

During the talks, the two sides stressed the importance of stopping the arms race and proceeding to concrete and effective measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, under appropriate international supervision in order to ensure the supreme right of each nation to life, freedom, and peace. At the same time, they stressed the need to stop military conflicts and settle all differences between countries by peaceful means and negotiations alone on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, and each people's right to develop as they desire without any outside interference.

Stressing the profoundly negative effects of the economic crisis and of deepening gaps between the rich and poor countries on the mode of life of peoples, particularly of peoples in developing countries, the two sides stressed the importance of eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order based on equality and equity that will ensure the progress of all nations as well as world economic and political stability.

The two sides stressed that under the current international conditions it is imperatively necessary to act to democratize international life. They also emphasized the increased role devolving upon the developing countries and the nonaligned countries that can and must make one of the most important contributions to the struggle for peace and independence and for establishing equitable relations between countries.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang reiterated the RCP's and CPC's determination to actively struggle to strengthen cooperation between the communist and workers parties to achieve a new unity between them on the basis of full equal rights and each party's right to formulate its political line independently and in keeping with the concrete conditions in the country in which it is carrying out its activity, this being an essential condition to assert socialism in the world.

The talks are taking place in an atmosphere of warm friendship, esteem, and mutual understanding.

Dascalescu Talks, Luncheon 6 May

AU061622 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Talks began in the afternoon at the Victoria Square Palace in Bucharest between Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee.

The talks are an opportunity to examine the current stage of economic relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China as well as prospects for developing those relations in keeping with the provisions of the long-term agreement on economic and technical cooperation signed at the summit level and in keeping with the other existing documents between the two countries.

The talks are taking place in a working atmosphere of friendship.

Comrade Constantin Dascalescu gave a luncheon in the honor of Comrade Hu Yaobang at the Victoria Square Palace at noon.

Further on Dascalescu Talks

AU061846 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/5/1983 -- On the second day of his Romanian visit, the secretary-general of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, had talks at the palace in Victoria Square with Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, prime minister of Romania.

The current stage of the bilateral economic relations was examined during the talks, just as the development prospects of those relations in the spirit of the understandings covenanted at top level, of the provisions of the agreement on long-term economic and technical collaboration, of the other documents concluded between the two countries. The need was stressed for capitalizing at a greater extent the potential of the two countries' economies with a view to further expanding and deepening cooperation in production, technical and scientific collaboration, bilateral commercial exchanges, for the benefit of both peoples, of their progress and prosperity. Directions were set on the occasion of the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration, of cooperation in and specialization of production in top domains of the national economies of Romania and China.

The wish was also expressed to expand bilateral relations in science and culture, education, health protection, sports and tourism, in other domains of activity in view of a better mutual knowledge and strengthened friendship between the two peoples.

The talks were attended by Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation; Ioan Florea, minister of timber and building materials; Lucian Dragut, secretary of the Council of Ministers; Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Ion Stoian, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation: Angelo Miculescu, Romania's ambassador in Beijing.

Attending for China were Qiao Shi, alternate member of the Secretariat of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), head of the Foreign Relations Department of the CC of the CCP; Qian Qichen, alternate member of the CC of the CCP, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Li Zewang, ambassador of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest; Wang Yonghu, adviser on commercial affairs; and He Cheng, adviser on economic affairs of the embassy, of the People's Republic of China in Bucharest.

The talks passed in a friendly, working atmosphere.

Departure for Galati, Constanta

AU070705 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0700 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, this morning left on a tour of Galati and Constanta Counties. The distinguished Chinese guest is accompanied by Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and by other officials.

Galati Plant, Constanta Arrival

AU071032 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] On the third day of his official friendship visit to Romania, Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, was the guest of the Galati metallurgical combine. The visit gave the distinguished Chinese guest an additional opportunity to become directly acquainted with some of our people's noteworthy achievements in developing their fatherland, in developing the industry, and in creating a progressive economy. Upon alighting from the helicopter, Comrade Hu Yaobang was warmly welcomed by Paraschiv Benescu, first secretary of the Galati County RCP Committee, and by members of the leadership of the metallurgical combine and the specialized central.

With the aid of a mock model and graphs, the hosts presented the characteristics of their plan and significant data concerning the current and future development of the enterprise in keeping with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's instructions. The guest visited two of the combine sections: the No 6 furnace and the No 2 thick-sheet rolling plant. Throughout the visit, workers, technicians, and engineers greeted the Chinese guest and expressed their complete satisfaction with the new meeting between Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang. At the end of the visit, the CPC Central Committee General Secretary expressed thanks for the reception extended to him, and congratulated the collective of workers, technicians and engineers for their results in production.

A short while ago, Comrade Hu Yaobang and the Romanian and Chinese officials accompanying him arrived in the Municipality of Constanta. The helicopter that brought the distinguished Chinese guest landed in the neighborhood of the shipyards. Comrade Hu Yaobang was greeted on behalf of the county inhabitants, by Comrade Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the Constanta County RCP Committee, and by other representatives of local party bodies.

A group of Pioneers offered flowers to Comrade Hu Yaobang. Many working people present at the arrival expressed their pleasure at hosting the distinguished leader of the CPC and expressed satisfaction with the development of Romanian-Chinese friendship and with the new summit meeting.

Comrade Hu Yaobang and the Romanian and Chinese officials went to the Constanta shipyards -- the largest of its kind in our country. In front of a mock model of the shipyards, graphs, and wall displays, the hosts presented the main stages of development of this important industrial facility which builds high-capacity vessels.

The visit at the Constanta shipyards continues.

Trip to Agigea Sluice

AU071635 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 7 May 83

[Excerpt] From the Constanta shipyard, the helicopter left for Agigea sluice, the gate of entry from the Danube-Black Sea Canal -- one of the most important targets of the Romanian economy in the last 10 years which is being built under the direct leadership and guidance of the RCP secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

With the aid of models and graphs, Colonel General Vasile Ionel, deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications, and director general of the Canal Central, briefed the Chinese guests on the current stage of work on this new 64.2 km waterway of Romania, as well as on the ports and the seven bridges for road and railroad transportation which cross the canal -- targets, which through their dimensions and the technical solutions applied, truly represent the first of their kind of this field.

The distinguished guests were then shown the Agigea sluice -- the double entry gate from the sea to the canal, a hydrotechnical target of particular complexity for the construction of which more than 2 million cubic meters of soil and rock were excavated, and 32,000 metric tons of reinforced concrete and 12,000 prefabricated blocks were used.

Expressing thanks to the hosts for the welcome and for showing them this hydrotechnical complex, Comrade Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, said: "It is a magnificent work, and it gives the Romanian people reason to be proud. We have something to learn."

Tour of Agricultural Units, Sea Resorts

AU071755 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 7 May 83

[Excerpt] In the afternoon, the guests visited the Mangalia Agricultural State Enterprise. The hosts presented the main characteristics of agriculture in Constanta County and stressed the manner in which agriculture developed in that county in the past few years. They also briefed the guests on the achievements attained by the Mangalia Agricultural State Enterprises, a unit specialized in growing fruit trees and vegetables, and in animal breeding.

Comrade Hu Yaobang then visited one of the animal breeding farms of that unit. At the end of the visit, Comrade Hu Yaobang congratulated the specialists in Constanta County agriculture and the people working at the Mangalia Agricultural State Enterprise for their results, and wished them new successes in their future activity.

The guests then visited some of the Black Sea resorts. On this occasion, the representatives of the friendly Chinese people became acquainted with another aspect of the economy of Constanta County, the one linked to the development of tourism. The CPC Central Committee general secretary was informed about the sustained efforts made by our party and state to most effectively capitalize on the natural and climatic conditions offered by the Romanian Black Sea shore.

The official cars drove through the resorts of Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, Neptun, and Olimp, resorts that made a particular impression on the guests. They were also informed that the Romanian seashore can host more than 2 million tourists per year from Romania and abroad.

Constanta RCP Committee Dinner

AU071940 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 7 May 83

[Excerpts] Bucharest AGERPRES 07/05/1983 -- After his visit to Galati, Hu Yaobang, accompanied by Romanian and Chinese officials, made for Constanta County. At the end of this day's visit, the Constanta County RCP Committee gave a dinner in honour of the secretary-general of the CC of the CCP.

Ceausescu Meeting in Neptun Resort

AU080808 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, met this morning in Neptun resort with Comrade Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary. On this occasion, the two party leaders continue their talks on questions of common interest, talks which are taking place in an atmosphere of warm friendship, of understanding, and mutual esteem that characterizes the Romanian-Chinese summit dialogue, as well as the traditional relations between our parties, countries, and peoples.

Ceausescu Talks 8 May

AU081600 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1530 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 08/05/1983 -- On Sunday, May 8, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and Romania's president, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang, had another round of talks in Neptun resort on the Romanian Black Sea coast.

The two party leaders continued to exchange views on questions of mutual interest which once again pointed to both sides' determination to strengthen still more the cooperation between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, to expand and deepen the manysided collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China on political, economi, technical-scientific, cultural, and other planes. The belief was expressed that the broad promotion of the friendly and productive collaboration between the two parties and countries, both bilaterally and internationally, benefited the Romanian and Chinese peoples, their progress and prosperity, the building of the new system in Romania and China, the general cause of socialism and peace all over the world.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, of mutual esteem and understanding.

On that occasion, Hu Yaobang shared his impressions of the pleasant visits he paid to Galati and Constanta Counties which, just like the visit to the capital city, gave him

the possibility to directly get acquainted with and appreciate a series of achievements scored by the Romanian people in the socioeconomic development of the country. The Chinese Communist Party leader deeply thanked, this time too, for the cordiality and hospitality he was extended everywhere in Romania.

Return to Bucharest From Neptun

AU081913 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang and the Chinese officials accompanying him returned to Bucharest tonight after their visits to Galati and Constanta Counties. The guest was accompanied on those visits by Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and by other Romanian officials.

Upon arrival at Otopeni Airport the distinguished guest was met by Comrades Gheorghe Pana, Miu Dobrescu, Petru Enache, and other Romanian officials.

On departure from Constanta, at Mihail Kogalniceanu Airport, the CPC Central Committee general secretary was seen off by Comrade Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Constanta County RCP Committee, and by other members of the county party committee and of the executive committee of the county people's council.

Arrival in Brasov 9 May

AU090930 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, together with the Romanian and Chinese officials, arrived this morning in the Municipality of Brasov.

At Dirste railroad station the two party leaders were welcomed with great warmth by Comrade Marin Enache, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, and first secretary of the Brasov County party committee, and by other representatives of the local party bodies.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Hu Yaobang were welcomed to the Brasov area by being offered the traditional bread and salt. Young people, dressed in handsome folk costumes, presented the two leaders with beautiful flowers.

The official motorcade then drove to the center of the city. All along the streets to the county party headquarters, thousands upon thousands of young and older people warmly greeted the two party leaders, thus expressing their satisfaction with the fruitful Romanian-Chinese dialogue which is taking place these days in our country, as well as feelings of friendship and profound esteem toward the Chinese people.

From their open automobile, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang responded with great sympathy and warmth to the ovations and cheers by the thousands of Brasov residents.

In front of the party committee headquarters an honor guard presented arms. Amidst applause and cheers by the numerous Brasov residents, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang were invited to enter the building. The visit to the Brasov Municipality -- an old settlement of Romanian culture and civilization -- is in full progress.

Activities in Brasov

AU091052 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 9 May 83

[Excerpts] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Hu Yaobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary, together with the Romanian and Chinese officials, arrived this morning in the Municipality of Brasov.

During a meeting at the Brasov Central Committee Headquarters the first secretary of the Brasov county party committee, Comrade Marin Enache, expressed satisfaction and great joy at the honor bestowed on the city by the presence of the two leaders within the framework of the fruitful Romanian-Chinese dialogue.

In his speech, he recalled the workers and revolutionary traditions of the working people in Brasov, given the economic profile of the municipality and county, and stressed the special upsurge of this area, like all areas in our country, during the time since the ninth congress when Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected as party leader.

He expressed deep satisfaction with the development of Romanian-Chinese relations, and with the new meeting between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang. The first secretary of the Brasov County party committee then stressed the contribution made by Brasov Country to developing economic cooperation between Romania and China, and the longstanding and positive cooperation between the truck, tractor, and ball-bearing enterprises with similar units in China.

Comrade Hu Yaobang expressed thanks for the information given, stated that he was glad to be in Brasov as part of the visit he is paying to our country. Referring to Romanian-Chinese economic cooperation, the distinguished representative of the Chinese people expressed his conviction that through common efforts this cooperation will continue to develop.

After the meeting at the Brasov County party headquarters, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang again drove through the streets of Brasov Municipality on their way to the well-known truck enterprise -- an important representative of Brasov industry and of our entire country.

All along their route, thousands upon thousands of residents very warmly greeted the two leaders, being glad to play host to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang.

At the Brasov truck enterprise, where Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang arrived a short time ago, they were welcomed with the same enthusiasm -- an expression of the satisfaction felt by the people with the progress of the current Romanian-Chinese summit dialogue, and with the overall development of relations between our countries.

Immediately after arriving at the great citadel of Brasov industry, the two party leaders began a visit of basic sectors of the enterprise to become familiar with the way in which highly technical products are being manufactured, products which, through their functional qualities, are competitive at a world level.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's and Comrade Hu Yaobang's visit to Brasov continues at this hour.

Report on Talks

AU062030 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] The Romanian-Chinese party talks at the highest level have concluded in Bucharest. Aleksa Brajovic, TANJUG correspondent in Bucharest, reports:

The condensed essence of the Romanian-Chinese dialogue at the highest level, which was practically concluded today, is that the present Bucharest visit of the Chinese party delegation headed by General Secretary Hu Yaobang is a new link in the ever closer relations between Romania and China. This conclusion is indicated both by the statements on the talks today and the toasts proposed yesterday by the two heads of the delegations. They did not forget to remind each other of the mutually shown trust and precious support in the most critical moments of the two parties and the two peoples.

The speakers expressed concern at the deterioration of the international situation but did not mention any hotbed of crisis or region of the world. They paid full tribute to the nonaligned countries' movement for its striving for peace and independence in the world. As regards cooperation among the communist and workers parties in the world, few words were expended in this Romanian-Chinese dialogue although they agreed to repeat what they have accepted, which is the steady resolution of their parties to struggle for a new unity among the parties on the basis of full equality and the right of each party to determine its own political line which suits the specific conditions of each country. This was announced today and it says a lot.

TRAVEL NOTES FROM PRC CITE PROGRESS, TIES

AU051045 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 3 May carries on page 4 a 900-word travel article by Constanting Priescu entitled: "Shanghai, an Outpost of Development in Socialist China," in which the author recounts his impressions of Shanghai: active port, industrial production, hive of revolutionary activities. He also tells about his visit to a metallurgical combine and his talks with his hosts, and concludes: "Whoever wants to measure the modern industrial 'pulse' of China must begin with Shanghai."

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 4 May carries on page 4 a 1,100-word travelogue by Dionisie Sincan with the title: "Lasting Friendships Are Oblivious of Distance." The author notes his impressions of a trip to China and his stops at the port of Xingang, a commune near Beijing, an electrical plant in Tientsin, and the Island of Hainan. He cites conversations with workers about their intensive activities, including an engineer who had worked on the building of a factory in Romania and who said that "We are separated by great distances, but united by the same thoughts and work for the well-being and freedom of working people."

REAGAN CSCE MESSAGE TO STAMBOLIC REPORTED

AU061439 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a message to Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The message relates to the present stage of the CSCE Madrid meeting.

PRESS REVIEWS NOVOYE VREMYA ATTACK ON POLITYKA

AU091140 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 May on page 5 carries a 1,500-word TANJUG report from Moscow reviewing the article entitled "When They Lose Orientation" in the latest issue of the Moscow weekly NOVOYE VREMYA which, as the report says, "sharply attacks the Warsaw POLITYKA" and "cites by name several Polish authors who 'are losing their orientation.'"

Noting that NOVOYE VREMYA "critically appraises the views about political pluralism and 'own specific model' of socialism in Poland," BORBA reports that "the Moscow weekly also condemns the views of Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and one of General Jaruzelski's closest associates." Although his name is not mentioned in the long NOVOYE VREMYA article, BORBA says, it is clear that the criticism is aimed at him because "it is precisely Rakowski who, in his interview with Oriana Falacci, made the appraisal of the situation in the Polish party which is now attacked by the Moscow weekly." According to BORBA, NOVOYE VREMYA "accuses POLITYKA of offering a 'hybrid scientific socialism and antisocialist concepts'" and of "being allergic to 'real socialism'", toward which it has adopted the same attitude as the West German newspaper DIE WELT or THE NEW YORK TIMES. Rejecting POLITYKA's advocacy of Poland's "own specific 'model of a socialist political system,' the Moscow weekly expresses amazement and asks whether socialism in Poland is 'some alien model which has been imposed on Poles from outside,'" BORBA concludes its report from Moscow.

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 6 May on page 3 carries an expanded 1,200-word TANJUG report from Moscow reviewing the same NOVOYE VREMYA attack on Warsaw POLITYKA. According to this report, NOVOYE VREMYA attacks POLITYKA, among other things, because of its demand for "'reexamining the role of the PZPR' and for accepting not only members, but leaders of Solidarity as 'people of noble motives.'" NOVOYE VREMYA says that "'precisely these noble' people 'demanded the hanging of communists,'" POLITIKA reports. NOVOYE VREMYA "especially sharply criticizes" POLITYKA's view that "future 'political crises are inevitable' in Poland." However, Belgrade POLITIKA says, "what, according to the weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, fills Moscow with the greatest indignation are the Warsaw POLITYKA's views which 'hiding under the cover of political mimicry,' demand a change in the geopolitical relations" and its argument that "the decisions of the Yalta conference 'are not eternal.'"

Summing up NOVOYE VREMYA's attack on Warsaw POLITYKA, Belgrade POLITIKA concludes that "at present it is not quite clear whether what is involved is only polemics of one weekly with another within the internal inter-allied relations or a serious warning to a neighbor and ally."

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 8 May on page 1 carries a 1,000-word report from Moscow by its permanent correspondent R. Bajalski also reviewing NOVOYE VREMYA's criticism of Warsaw POLITYKA. Bajalski makes no reference to Mieczyslaw Rakowski in this connection, as both TANJUG reports in BORBA and POLITIKA on 6 May do.

He says that NOVOYE VREMYA's critical article deserves attention for three reasons: "It represents a renewal of a special kind of polemics with the Polish press from which the Soviet public media have refrained since the introduction of martial law in Poland; second, the Warsaw POLITYKA is being criticized abroad at a time when no similar condemnations are being leveled at it in Poland itself; and, third, the Soviet journal claims furthermore in a certain way that POLITYKA is appraising the events in the country differently from the Polish party [PZPR]." According to Bajalski, Andrey Ryzhov, author of the NOVOYE VREMYA article, "suggests his own three basic appraisals of the situation in Poland," saying that "'it is too early to celebrate victory,'" that "today 'the sharp struggle on the ideological front is assuming an increasingly great importance,'" and that "the opponents use the specific Polish conditions to create and maintain a situation that 'generates opposition.'"

NOVOYE VREMYA is especially "troubled by Warsaw POLITYKA's advocacy of 'pluralism'" and in this connection criticizes POLITYKA's author Andrezej Verblan for his "attempts to rehabilitate Solidarity," Bajalski reports. The Moscow weekly further reproaches Warsaw POLITYKA for its attitude toward "'real socialism'" and its suggestion that "Poland should be a 'bridge' and a 'mediator' between East and West," and particularly attacks those "among POLITYKA's collaborators who advocate a 'reexamination of the Yalta agreement' and who claim that 'Poland is a victim of Europe's postwar division."

Concluding his report from Moscow, Bajalski says: "It is difficult to say whether NOVOYE VREMYA wants to engage in polemics with the Warsaw POLITYKA. Probably not. What is realistically desired in any event is to ensure that Warsaw and Poland are publicly informed that the writing of the influential Polish weekly is causing astonishment here, to say the least."

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON UPCOMING VISIT OF HU YAOBANG

LD072023 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] The upcoming visit to Yugoslavia by Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CPC Central Committee, is an exceptionally important event for relations between the PRC and Yugoslavia and between the LCY and the CPC. Hu Yaobang's visit is taking place at a time of full ascent of Yugoslav-Chinese relations, based on the principles of full equality, mutual consideration, and respect. If we exempt the lagging behind of economic cooperation, which -- let us recall -- is not conditional in any way, especially not on politics or ideologies, there are no unsolved problems or obstacles in relations between the PRC and Yugoslavia which could influence the further development of cooperation between the two countries and parties. Good and friendly relations between Yugoslavia and China are of great importance for relations and cooperation between the socialist countries and communist parties because they can serve as an example of how two countries and their parties can successfully cooperate without endangering the interests of third countries and parties.

Although the relations between Yugoslavia and the PRC, or rather the relations between the CPC and the LCY, underwent a long period during which cooperation was interrupted, Yugoslavia and the LCY never lost hope that the time would come when all these disagreements would be eliminated. The historic visit by Josip Broz Tito to China represented a step forward in the building of comprehensive relations on fully equal bases. In this respect, in addition to Deng Xiaoping, an important role was also played by Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CPC Central Committee.

During his visit to Yugoslavia, which will last several days, Hu Yaobang will hold thorough talks with Yugoslav leaders on all questions of cooperation and relations between the two parties, on relations between Yugoslavia and China, on trends in the communist and workers' movement, and on the world situation. China, as the world's most densely populated country, plays an important role in the present world and the CPC's efforts with regard to domestic development, especially with regard to overcoming stagnation during the period of the Cultural Revolution, deserve full attention and respect. The Chinese leaders are bravely coping with all the problems still facing China and there is no doubt that the decisions adopted by the 12th CPC Congress will be successfully implemented.

China is very interested in Yugoslavia's domestic development, its achievements, and solutions to complex economic problems. In addition, China greatly appreciates and respects Yugoslavia's nonbloc position and its efforts in the struggle for permanent and stable peace in the world. Although the PRC is not a member of the Nonaligned Movement, it is by its foreign political orientation very close to the Nonaligned Movement. In the foreign political field, China has long been preoccupied with relations with the Soviet Union and the United States, and recently also with Vietnam, but one should hope that all interested parties will make maximum efforts to eliminate mutual mistrust. Yugoslavia has always supported any initiative in this direction, which China greatly appreciates. After all, the very fact that China attributes major importance to its relations with Yugoslavia is clearly reflected in the forthcoming visit by Hu Yaobang to our country.

AGGRAVATED SOVIET-IRANIAN REGULATIONS DISCUSSED

LD061339 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 6 May 83

[By Branco Savic]

[Text] Tehran, May 6 (TANJUG) -- Today, Friday, the forty-eight hour deadline set to eighteen Soviet diplomats for leaving the territory of Iran where they have unexpectedly been proclaimed "undesireable persons", expires. The departure of Soviet diplomats, in itself, marks the cooling of relations between Iran and its northern neighbour against whom open accusations have been voiced here before now.

The latest aggravation of relations between Iran and the Soviet Union follows the televized public confession of the arrested Iranian Tudeh (Communist) Party Central Committee members that they have been "Soviet tools", that is, that some of them had directly worked for the Soviet secret service KGB giving important "political and military information" to the Soviet diplomatic representation in Tehran.

In view of the fact that the Iranian policy of "neither the East, nor the West" is founded on its resistance to superpowers' domination, and that the Soviet Union here has long since been proclaimed an "aggressor" because of "its occupation of Muslim Afghanistan", it is not difficult to understand that this has only further intensified antagonistic feelings.

Recent Iraqi bombing of Iranian border town Dezful by Soviet-made missiles has caused a veritable wave of bitterness in Iran. All this has created a climate favourable for "settling accounts", particularly since the leaders of the Islamic revolution have concluded that an alliance with a communist party, especially because of its reliance on the Soviet Union, could interfere with a speedy "complete Islamization of the society. society".

Although eighteen Soviet diplomats leave Iran, today approximately the same number stays on in Iran. This, as well as some other signs, indicate that relations between the two neighbours, despite everything that has taken place, in future could return to normal.

PLANINC ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON ECONOMY

LD081722 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 8 May 83

[Text] Kumrovec, 8 May (TANJUG) -- The gradual stabilization of our economy is not possible without the stabilization of world economic trends, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, said in her opening address to the Kumrovec '83 journalists' convention which began here today in the House of Youth and Veterans. Even so, it is of crucial importance that we persevere in our efforts to balance our internal and external economic relations. These efforts by Yugoslavia have been welcomed abroad, as the results of talks we held recently with leaders of certain countries testify, Milka Planinc said, speaking before more than 250 SFRY journalists.

A characteristic of our economy is that in the last 10 years we have turned more to the domestic than the foreign market, in other words, to where it is easier to sell our products. We cannot continue in this situation. We must bring our trade exchange with all countries into balance, particularly with the convertible currency area. Yugoslav exporters also have great opportunities on the developing countries' market.

Another key link in the stabilization program is the rectifying of the dinar's illiquidity, Milka Planinc stressed. For years we have been spending what we have not earned. Investment, general and joint consumption have exhausted the economy. We still cannot be satisfied with the results achieved in reducing consumption, particularly in investment. What is happening today is that funds generated by the economy are being poured into investment, while associated labor is using borrowed money for production and personal incomes.

Investment is falling, but the number of new projects under construction is not falling sufficiently, the president of the Federal Executive Council stressed. The Federal Executive Council's activity is currently directed toward putting the stabilization program into operation, she said. The greatest mistake would be for us to adopt the program in the assembly and then have to carry it through by intervention measures. Implementation of the stabilization program must be the main task of all of society, Milka Planinc stressed, and the foundations for such activity must be the basic organizations of associated labor. The stabilization program must be implemented by the basic organizations of associated labor, their associations, and the entire delegate system, and its implementation should ensure the material and social prerequisites for development, or rather the development of self-management. Each basic organization of associated labor must analyze the distribution of income and only such analyses can serve as the starting point in calculating the total distribution in society. In other words, total social consumption must not under any circumstance be greater than the social product, Milka Planinc emphasized. Unless we ensure such an implementation of the stabilization program, we are opening the way for greater state regulation.

Whatever the case, the realization of stabilization tasks is not a job which can be carried out over night, but a long-term process which demands the maximum involvement of all forces in society. There will be resistance, too, which is understandable to some extent, since stabilization means very drastic changes.

(?Unemployment), Milka Planinc continued, cannot be eliminated by exploying a larger number of workers on the same income. We have much unused potential in the economy and in society, and by activating this we could significantly reduce unemployment. The management of social resources is justified and proven only if these resources are rationally and fully utilized. There is much machinery which is only being utilized on one shift, Milka Planinc noted. It is untenable that our production is stagnating and unemployment is growing. We must ensure that the industry which we have developed in terms of quantity be transferred into quality. The subjective factor plays a crucial role in all these efforts.

In connection with prices, Milka Planinc said, it is necessary to emphasize that overall social consumption must be restrained, because this is the basis for a more exemplary price policy. We must accept the principle of market price formation, but this cannot be implemented at once, Milka Planinc said.

The president of the Federal Executive Council then replied to numerous questions from the journalists present. During the next 3 days, discussions on a number of current questions dealing with internal political and economic life and international issues are envisaged for the participants in the Kumrovec journalists' convention, organized by the Society of Journalists of Croatia. It is expected that Zvone Dragan, Josip Vrhovec, Miljan Komatina, Colonel General Asim Hodzic, Pavle Gazi, and Janez Stanovnik will speak on these themes. This afternoon, Ivo Fabinc, LCY Central Committee member and rector of Ljubljana University, spoke on Yugoslavia's international economic position.

KOSOVO'S SIROKA INTERVIEW ON CURRENT SITUATION

AU051350 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 83 p 7

[M. Daci report on Pristina Television interview with Kolj Siroka, president of the Kosovo Presidency -- place and date not given]

[Excerpts] Answering a question about the political situation in Kosovo, Kolj Siroka, president of the Presidency, said among other things:

"Considered as a whole, we appraise the political situation in Kosovo positively. Thanks to the activity of all people and primarily of the League of Communists, we have revived the activity of the workers and masses in the struggle for an increasingly greater political and economic stabilization. I will not say that we have a completely ideal situation but the progressive forces have overcome numerous problems that were not following favorable trends in earlier periods."

Employment Is the Main Problem

The counterrevolutionary events caused enormous damage to Kosovo's development precisely at a time when we had reached an accord at an all-Yugoslav level that this province would receive the greatest support in the entire history of its development, Kolj Siroka said. He added that, thanks to the awareness of the workers class of Kosovo and the entire country, the difficulties are being gradually overcome and that the progress in economic operations as well as general progress would continue this year.

Employment is the main problem in Kosovo and the province's primary task is to solve this problem. We have requested the assistance of all of Yugoslavia in this respect, Siroka said. He further spoke about the material assistance of the broader social community in overcoming difficulties and developing social activities.

Osman Gasi, Pristina Television's chief editor, then asked a question about the political system and the constitutional position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo because certain contradictions appeared in this respect after the counterrevolutionary events.

"Our forces in Kosovo have dealt a blow to negative tendencies. The fact is that even our ordinary people have understood that in no event can the position of the province within the political system of the federation and within the political system of the Socialist Republic of Serbia be changed," Kolj Siroka pointed out among other things. He then answered at some length a question about the national equality of the peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and said among other things:

"I think that, here and there, there are still sections of people who are lagging in their awareness and are burdened by certain things that have been left behind by the bourgeois awareness regarding the concept of statehood. These remnants often manifest themselves but they have no connection with our self-managing system. The aspiration and orientation to, and the declarations in favor of complete political, cultural, and economic equality must be achieved in Yugoslavia as our desire and need and as something without which Yugoslavia cannot progress. Anyone who acts contrary to this goal wishes no good to Yugoslavia.

"As regards the language and all other distinctions of a nation and of what is national, no people or nationality may be singled out on the basis of any claims that it possesses greater values and that others possess lesser values. Accordingly, all expressions, distinctions, and symbols must enjoy equal rights in all spheres. We must oppose all negative tendencies which manifest themselves here and there through the abuses that are committed deliberately or unawares.

"I think that the individual nationalities or ethnic groups whom we still do not treat in the appropriate manner not only here in Kosovo, but in Yugoslavia as a whole -- as for instance, is the case with the Romanies -- must be granted as soon as possible everything to which they are entitled within their national rights."

Later in his interview, Kolj Siroka spoke about the cadre policy in Kosovo and said among other things:

"As regards cadre policy, I can claim the following: During the struggle and actions against the counterrevolutionary forces, we have rid our organization of opportunistic Communists and opportunists. A certain number of people who were in our organization but did not deserve to be have been expelled. However, for every expelled member, we have admitted at least two or three new members to the League of Communists. The newly admitted members were those who had struggled and had proved themselves. I think that, as regards the cadres, we are far stronger today than we were in the past. What is the reason for this? The reason is in the fact that people have been burdened in the struggle. Thus, we have strengthened ourselves ideologically."

The next question was about the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

[Answer] "I think that we have overcome the situation of insecurity that existed among a section of people and especially among the Serbs and Montenegrins. The trends show that those Serbs and Montenegrins who emigrated are beginning to return. There is no commune to which at least a certain percentage of emigrants has not returned. The situation is not as it should be in Pristina and Titova Mitrovica. We are sparing no efforts to stop the emigration from these two cities.

"We set ourselves greater tasks than those incorporated in the LCY platform, the tasks aimed not only at consolidating the political atmosphere but at creating all other prerequisites for the return of those who have emigrated.

"As regards the question whether the Albanians are emigrating, I believe that this is known. There are many of our people who have found employment in the places that are in the development process. There are entire settlements of Albanians throughout the country. There are places where their numbers have confronted the political organs with the questions of what should be done for them, how the problem of their children's school education should be solved, how their cultural life should be safeguarded, and how their other needs should be satisified. We are fulfilling those tasks and doing this work in the way in which Tito, too, wanted it."

Necessities of Our Life

One of the last questions by the Pristina Television editor concerned the phenomenon of spiritual guardianship in international relations and the tendencies of vertical linking of peoples and nationalities.

[Answer] "Any vertical linking, for instance, of the Albanians here in Kosovo and the Albanians elsewhere in Yugoslavia is an orientation toward breaking up Kosovo and breaking up Yugoslavia. We can say the same thing in relation to other peoples in Yugoslavia. as regards the question of any move toward vertical linking with or of spiritual guardianship toward their other parts either here in Kosovo or in other communities. All this does not lead to mutual trust. People must regulate their relations within the sociopolitical communities and the wider communities which exist in Yugoslavia. This is a necessity of our life. We have decided in favor of primarily solving and satisfying the class rights of workers, peasants, and workingmen as well as of entire nations within the intranational relations," Kolj Siroka said among other things in his Pristina Television interview which was carried tonight.

PAPERS NOTE MAY DAY PROVOCATIONS IN ISTOK

LD062201 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 6 May 83

[Text] Pristina, 6 May (TANJUG) -- During the May Day holidays several excesses were recorded in the area of Istok Municipality, according to today's RILINDJA and JEDINSTVO, the most characteristic among them being two cases of setting fire to forests, several cases of removing state flags, and the lighting of campfires in prohibited places.

At a session of the Istok Municipality Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection the view was expressed that these excesses were designed to cause insecurity among the citizens and disrupt the increasingly stable political situation in this commune. That this situation does not suit the hostile elements is confirmed by the nationalistic provocation by one group of young men who provoked pupils from the primary school in the village of Ljubovo with the question, "Are you for Tito or Enver?" When the pupils replied: "We are for Tito, we are Tito's," the provocateurs began mistreating them and preventing them from attending the May Day celebration. The assault was reported in a timely fashion, and the group of nationalists led by Dzevad Dresaj from the village of Prigode and Gani Dervisaj from Zblace near Istok were each sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment.

The members of the Istok committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection also addressed harsh criticism to the administration of the Mileva Vokovic secondary school center in Pec, which permitted these nationalists to go to school there even though they had previously been excluded from the secondary school center in Istok because of hostile activity.

KOSOVO STUDENTS EXPELLED FOR BOYCOTT ATTEMPT

AU071927 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] The Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Mileva Vukovic Education Center in Pec at its session has discussed the hostile act of a group of graduating students who in the village of Ljubovo near Pec, during the May Day holidays, attempted with hostile provocations and slogans to dissuade the students of the Trepca elementary school of Pecka Banja from going to regular classes and organized school festivities for May Day. It was decided that six students of the fourth grade of agricultural studies (?will be) banned from taking examinations this year and from enrolling in any school in the country next school year.

RECOVERY OF KOSOVO ECONOMIC LOSSES VIEWED

AU031925 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Apr 83 p 5

[Milos Antic report]

[Text] Pristina, Apr -- At a time when good reports on increasing production and reviving the economy in the first 3 months of this year are being received from most Kosovo collectives, the fact that, due to losses last year and before, this year the same collectives have to provide as much as 5 billion dinars because of losses came as a bolt out of the blue. Unrecovered losses from last year amount to 3 billion dinars and those from previous years to 2 billion dinars.

An Excessively Heavy Load

The fact that the situation in these collectives, and not only in them, is very serious, is perhaps best confirmed by assessment made by Imer Pulja, president of the Kosovo Executive Council, who recently said that liberalistic wasteful actions of a number of economic representatives, totally disregarding income-based relations, have led the province to the brink of financial breakdown and that therefore the situation cannot be improved even in those collectives where it is socially necessary to do so without calling on the resources of the fund for the undeveloped regions and of the budget.

As was concluded by the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communist of Kosovo, the social community will spare no efforts to help all those collectives whose prospects are good and who make efforts to extricate themselves from the crisis. However, there is neither a will nor are there any resources to rescue -- who knows for how many times already -- those who have only been creating losses for years and who show no readiness to change the situation, but try to extract from society as much as they can.

Therefore, the orientation is clear and it has won full support.

According to all indicators, losses are the main problem of the Kosovo economy at the moment.

And not only at the moment. They were the main impediment to development until now, but this was not properly realized.

How were such large losses incurred? Viewing the situation from a certain distance, one can simply say that not enough was produced and spending continued as if an abundance existed and even what was not earned was distributed, and for years nobody tried to stop this. And who would be the one to do that wh[illegible], for instance, last year the one who was supposed to hold the situation in its hands -- the Provincial Institute for Finance -- distributed in personal incomes 31 percent more than was allowed by the annex of the social accord.

Unfortunately, this example is not the only one.

Such relations, which went on for years, brought about a constant decline in productivity and not a single dinar could be allocated for expanded reproduction. This year, when production began to improve, when a number of collectives changed their attitude toward work and social resources, the competent organs in the province, with the help of the broader social community, decided to perform a "surgical" intervention to put those less "sick" collectives on their own feet and give them a chance to embark on the right road. Three billion dinars will be provided for that purpose.

Not a Dinar for Development!

However, it is certain that money cannot and will not cure all ailments of Kosovo losses. Idleness, negligence, excessive absenteeism, poor organization of work, markets, and raw materials cannot be somebody else's concern, but the concern of those employed in these collectives. Leading teams in organizations which had operated with losses for years cannot count on the support of sociopolitical organizations in their communities in the future.

The Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosova and the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo decidedly demand that such individuals and groups be replaced by young and capable people.

In any event, one should believe in changes, because, if everything remains the same -- that is, if the same people continue to decide on spending the resources the community allocates for recovering losses -- then a better future is still far away. The action taken by the League of Communists and provincial organs with a view to achieving the recovery of the Kosovo economy does not consist only in something fictitious and, as somebody has put it, by papering over losses, but primarily and exclusively in changing the situation, the awareness, and the relations of all employed people in the province. In this connection, one should not forget the fact that changes are also necessary in the behavior of state organs which, when they participated in recovering losses in the past, were giving money to economic officials at one counter and taking it away at the other. If that happens again now, nothing will come out of real recovery and therefore of stabilization.